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Land and Livelihood on Mokil

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CIMA Report No. 25

LAND AND LIVELIHOOD ON MOKIL
An Atoll in the Eastern Carolines

PART II

By

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Los Angeles, California

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FOREWORD

This study was made possible by the Office of Naval Research and the Pacific Science Board of the National Research Council. I wish to thank both of these organizations for the efficient manner in which they made arrangements for supplying the information, equipment and transportation necessary to carrying out the project. I am particularly grateful to Dr. Harold J. Coolidge, executive secretary of the Pacific Science Board, for responding to my request for additional time in the field and arranging for funds to cover the added expense incurred.

Of the many men of the United States Navy to whom I am indebted, I wish to express my appreciation for the able assistance and consideration given by Commander Mooney, head of the Civil Administration Unit in Ponape and Commander Lee M. Duke, Commarianas.

My gratitude to Mr. V. R. Braudon-Walker, district manager for the Island Trading Company in Ponape is not alone for the help and understanding that he extended to me. Mr. Braudon-Walker's interest in the project was only a reflection of the great concern he has for the welfare of the people in the area. No problem was so small or confusion so great that he was not willing to give his help.

My feeling for the people of Mokil is difficult to express in a foreword. I have never before been on such intimate terms with so many people for such a long period of time. They took me into their community as a friend and a fellow human being. The evening that I returned to the village after seeing off my friend and colleague Dr. Joseph Weckler, many of the people met me in the village street, shouting their greetings of "kaselelia" with a heart warming earnestness that did much to dispel the feeling of loneliness that had come over me. That night my house was crowded with friends who had come to cheer up a person who had said goodby to the rest of his "paneyney." Over the months I was made to feel that I belonged to Mokil. This was no personal accomplishment. The Mokilese are friendly and warm and insist on treating all human relations with an intimacy that soon overcomes the reservations of the most distant stranger.

The cooperation received from the people during the period of study was wholehearted. They made every effort to explain their way of life and were most willing

to give me their time and labor so essential to the project. Almost every person in this small community made important contributions. However, I am particularly indebted to my friends and fellow workers, Are, King August, Pernel, Jaulik, Jorim, Alen, Jemej, Oliten, Steven and Tom Alikjenter among the men, and Ruth, Lete, Sopi and Etuina among the women. There are many more who interrupted their own work for days on end to help me with my labors.

I was extremely fortunate in having the opportunity of working with Dr. Joseph Beckler in the field. His advice and suggestions were most valuable in organizing my approach to the study that followed.

The greatest help in writing up the material was contributed by Ethelwyn Boericke, a fellow anthropologist. Her interest in the material and her patience in discussing problems of organization did much to clarify my own thinking.

I also wish to thank Mary Maximoff for the many hours she spent with me in the analysis of the voluminous data that had been gathered on cooperation and for the help she gave me in editing the manuscript.

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INTRODUCTION

This report covers only one aspect of the study made by Dr. Joseph Weckler and myself on Mokil. The project was originally conceived of as having two objectives. One, to make an anthropological study of the economic and social organization of a community within the administrative area of Ponape, and, two, in addition to a written report on our findings to do a second report in the form of a documentary film.

We had long held the opinion that the documentary film as a medium for reporting anthropological data would be of great value as a supplement to written material. It was our intention that both types of report should be complete within themselves and as such could be studied independently of each other. Together it was hoped that they would offer a much more complete description of a culture than either could offer alone.

In order to comply with our contract with the Pacific Science Board we were required to submit two separate written reports. The same title--Land and Livelihood in Mokil has been given to both. Part One was submitted by Dr. Weckler in December, 1948. Because of the fact that we worked as a team in gathering data related to a single problem--an analysis of the social system in terms of economic organization--the division of material included in the two sections of the report is somewhat artificial. Also, it was found necessary to repeat to some extent the general descriptions of the Island and the people in order that a proper setting could be given for the analysis that followed in each section. They are now in such an order that although each complements the other they can be read as separate units.

The division of labor in the field was made according to our special interests. Dr. Weckler's emphasis was on social structure, historical background and land tenure. Most of my effort was directed toward a study of the functioning economy of the present day and its relation to such values as status, prestige and social security.

We arrived on Mokil in the first week of August, 1947. Shortly after our arrival it became apparent that there were two types of data that would greatly facilitate our research. These were genealogies of everyone on the Island carried back several generations and maps of all the land holdings including wet land taro. Dr. Weckler immediately set to work on a master genealogical chart while I began a

mapping project that consumed a good part of two months of my time.[1] With this material at hand for reference, Dr. Weckler began an investigation of the land transfers that had taken place between circa 1770 and 1947.

In the meantime, I began a study of the resources of the Island, the methods of production and the basis for cooperation and exchange. Most of this information was gathered by questioning the members of every family rather than by working with a single informant. A great deal of the data consisted of recorded observation on technology, participation in cooperative work, and behavior of individuals in family and public situations.

Late in November we decided that we were sufficiently familiar with the culture to be able to write a script for the documentary film that we had in mind. From the field work already done it became apparent that the most serious problem of the people of Mokil was the pressure of population on the land. Using this as a central theme we wrote a script that developed the way of life of the people, their close dependence on the land, the high degree of cooperation and social integration found within their economy, and the conflicts and dissensions that develop as a result of their limited resources. The scenes that were included in the story, written for the most part by Dr. Weckler, were ones that we had already witnessed and knew would occur again in the normal course of events. As much as possible we wished to avoid the staging of scenes.

Following the departure of Dr. Weckler on December 7, 1947 I began the shooting of the film according to the script. As events occurred that fitted into the story they were photographed. The actual shooting was spread over a period of five and one half months and was not completed until the date of my departure on May 20, 1948. By this method it was possible to use the candid camera technique to a great extent and at the same time it gave ample time to continue the work of gathering data for the study. The total footage shot amounted to ten thousand feet of sixteen mm. Kodachrome. The finished film which will run about an hour should be completed by August, 1949. It constitutes the third and final report on our work on Mokil.

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[1] The mapping was a duplication of the work done by Dr. Raymond Murphy, geographer, who was on the Island for the first weeks of our stay. He felt that our work should be entirely independent.

CHAPTER I

RESOURCES AND THE PEOPLE

The Land

At the eastern extremity of the East Carolines lies the tiny atoll of Mokil.[1] The horizon around it extends unbroken in every direction. For months on end the people live completely isolated. Ninety miles to the west is Ponape--the outside world, the metropolis. Ponape is a volcanic island covering 175 square miles--a large land to the Mokilese, with many people, and since land there is so plentiful the people are rich. From time to time a canoe or whale boat will venture to make the passage to Ponape. But contacts between Mokil and the outside world are for the most part limited to the navy ship plying the copra trade at irregular intervals.

The atoll of Mokil is less than half a square mile in total land area. It consists of three small islands enclosed by a reef that shelters a coral studded lagoon of little more than two and a half square miles. There is much activity on the reef which may be used at low tide to get from one island to another. On moonlit nights the whole village sometimes goes out on the reef to catch the much prized redfish, wait there for the moon to rise and the tide to go out, laughing, joking and telling stories.

The daily life of the people is occupied with working these tiny strips of land and the sea within sight of them. This is their world--the reef, the lagoon and the land. Although they make frequent sallies out to the open sea to catch fish they are always within sight of their low-lying atoll.

The Mokilese are conscious of two seasons, the period of the steady endless trade winds and the rainy season. The trade winds start late in December and taper off in April. They are followed by a period of relative calm with occasional showers in May, June and July. By September the rains are much more frequent, and variable winds reaching considerable velocity can be expected. This period is terminated by the return of the trade winds in December.

The temperature has a considerable daily variation, dropping to seventy-eight degrees just before dawn, and reaching ninety degrees in midafternoon. While the temperature may seem high to the outsider, the Mokilese are unaffected. The climate never interferes with the heavy work required to make a living from the soil and sea.

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[1] Mokil lies at 6^{0} 40' N and 159^{0} 47' E.

The three islands of the atoll average not more than ten feet elevation and consist of coral gravel. It is poor land, and only by great effort can it be made to produce the food and materials necessary for life. The staff of life is the taro, and considering the limited resources of this small piece of land, it is ideally suited to the needs of the people. Through generations of heavy labor artificial pits containing several feet of rich humus have been developed. Out of a total of 308 acres on the whole atoll eight acres have been devoted to this crop.

It is the coconut land that provides the materials for shelter, the timber for ocean-going canoes and many subsistence foods. The annual clearing of the coconut plantations is done during the period of the trade winds when there is little rain and the brush can be easily burned. Throughout the remainder of the year the routine of planting and harvesting depends only upon the seasonal ripening of the breadfruit and pandanus. Breadfruit, pandanus, dry land taro, bananas, arrowroot and a few papaya, pumpkins and squash grow in the gravelly soil of the coconut plantations. These foods plus coconut cream make up a necessary part of the Mokilese diet.

Coconut land also provides raw materials for trade goods. From the time that copra trade became important as a means of acquiring the manufactured goods of the outside world, copra production has dominated the agricultural efforts of the people. Their orientation is definitely toward money and what it can buy. Coconut trees are now planted wherever they will grow and subsistence foods are raised either in limited areas that will no longer produce copra or throughout the coconut plantations themselves. Handicraft, another source of money income, also derives its raw material from the coconut land.

Pigs and chickens are raised on Mokil, but only in small numbers. To the Mokilese, pigs rank with taro as an important food in spite of the fact that they are seldom eaten except at feasts. Pig, taro and green coconuts are the only foods offered at certain important ceremonial occasions. Chickens are said to have been raised more extensively in earlier times, but in 1939 an epidemic killed many of them. At present they are increasing and will probably again become an important food. At present, chicken like pork rarely makes an appearance except on feast occasions.

It is to the sea that the people look for fresh meat. The Mokilese are great deep sea fishermen. They will venture far beyond the sheltering reefs in their search for bonito, sail fish and other large food fish. Fishing in the open sea, however, depends upon the season,

the wind and the phase of the moon. The reefs, on the other hand, offer a never ending source of smaller fish that can be caught without trouble at any time by men, women and even children. Although the quantity of fish varies with the seasons, at no time do the Mokilese suffer from a complete shortage.

Trolling in the open sea is done mostly during the season of the trade winds since high winds are necessary for this type of fishing. During this period twenty or thirty canoes may be seen at one time out in the open ocean under full sail, even in the heaviest wind, trolling their feathered lures. Occasionally, large catches are made, especially of the ocean bonito. Flying fish are caught in large quantities in February and March on the lee side of the atoll beyond the reef extending between Manton and Urak. Most of the still fishing on and beyond the reef is also done in this locality.

The People

In spite of its limited resources, Mokil is heavily populated. A house to house census taken by me in 1948 showed a population of 425 permanent residents. Some difficulty was encountered in determining who could be considered permanent residents, for although the island is relatively isolated, the Mokilese take every opportunity to visit relatives on such islands as Ponape, Kusaie, Pingelap and even the Marshalls. At the time of the census there were 384 people actually living on the island. Of these thirty-two were temporary visitors who planned to return to Ponape in the near future. Some seventy-three permanent residents were away from Mokil. A number of these were working for the Civil Administration or the Island Trading Company. It is expected that all of the seventy-three will return to Mokil to live.

The official census taken by the Civil Administration is based on registered taxpayers. However, it was found that many of these have actually taken up residence elsewhere. There are several cases of people who have set up households on land acquired on Ponape and have lived there for the last ten years. Yet these people are registered taxpayers of Mokil and consider themselves citizens of Mokil. Since this study is concerned with the population that must be supported by the resources of the atoll, such a basis for assigning residence to the district was considered of little value.

The figure of 425 permanent residents shows a density of population of over 800 people per square mile. The land is poor, but still these people must derive not only their subsistence but a major portion of their money income from it.

The population has increased steadily over the years

of which we have historical record. Local history describes a typhoon that destroyed much of the island about 1770. In the lean years that followed most of the people died from starvation. Only three families--some thirty people--including the King lived through this catastrophe. The 425 people found on Mokil today all trace their descent from these three families.

The first census taken by the Japanese in 1920 shows a population of 246. Considering merely the recent trend from this date to the present there has been an increase of approximately thirty per cent in a period of twenty-eight years. An analysis of the present population indicates that it can be expected to continue to increase as it has in the past.

TABLE I

Age	Male	Female	Total	Percentage
0-19	113	115	228	53.6
20-44	73	58	131	30.9
45-	37	29	66	15.5
TOTAL	223	202	425	100%

The largest percentage of the population is less than twenty years old. Relatively few people are over forty-five and only two and three-tenths per cent of the population is over sixty-five. The number of births and deaths occurring in a year can be given only for 1947; in that year there were twenty-five births and four deaths. The preponderance of youth over age plus a vigorous birth rate indicates a rapidly growing population.

The increasing pressure of population on the land and its effect on the culture is one of the concerns of this study. It will undoubtedly become a critical problem in the next generation. Birth control has been suggested as a solution but much time and effort would be required to get the people to accept this practice. Occasionally a woman will attempt to bring on a miscarriage by rubbing and pummelling her abdomen. This, however, is only resorted to in an effort to avoid the consequences of an illicit love affair.

There is an average of almost five children in each family.[1] In spite of the growing land shortage, the Mokilese still place high value on large families. Any couple so unfortunate as to have no children will always adopt one or more boys and girls. Children are considered

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[1] My records include no children born to mothers under fourteen or over forty-four years of age.

an economic and social asset. They are insurance against destitution late in life, for it is the responsibility of every Mokilese to provide for his aged parents.

The population of Mokil is a healthy and vigorous one. The people are capable of working long hours at the most arduous labor. They suffer from few diseases. The only common ailments are worms and other intestinal parasites, and these are being brought under control by a program instituted by the Medical Department of the Civil Administration. With the introduction of penicillin and sulfa drugs yaws has become almost negligible. Gonorrhea occurs occasionally but is not virulent and causes the people little concern. There are two cases of cancer on the island which are beyond the help of medical science and are being allowed to run their course. Tuberculosis is present but is limited in its distribution.

A native medical practitioner Jaulik of paneyney seventeen is a resident of the island. Although his training is limited to two years in the medical schools of the Japanese, he is nevertheless very competent in handling those illnesses and injuries that do not require surgery or the more advanced techniques of the medical profession. Jaulik takes great pride in his role as a native doctor and loves to talk about the hardships of his calling. His dispensary is located in a frame house which he owns and maintains in a clean and orderly fashion. Sick call is at eight o'clock each morning and is often attended by a dozen or more patients, usually women and children with such ailments as sore throat, toothache, minor cuts and abrasions. In addition, Jaulik is available at any hour of the day and night. There are sometimes periods following the arrival of the ship when an epidemic of colds spreads rapidly through the village, and Jaulik will get little sleep for nights on end because of administering to the complaints of his patients.

Native Medicine

Medicine is one of the few activities in which there is specialization. Native medicine for the most part is practiced by specialists who have built reputations for effecting cures in certain areas of the body. Most of the treatments are based on massage accompanied by the use of perfumed coconut oil as a lubricant. There are a number of cures in which the juices of certain herbs and plants are used either internally or externally or both. The identity of the plants as well as the nature of the treatment are carefully guarded secrets. Some of the cures are thought to have their origin in Mokil, but many are known to come from the Gilberts and the Marshalls. One treatment has its source in the Mortlocks.

The Medical Department of the Civil Administration recognizes the value of massage in the treatment of painful joints and muscles and has given official sanction to its use. In order to control native medicine the Medical Department requires that a license be issued to each native practitioner. This license costs $1.50. It stipulates the conditions under which practice may be carried on.[1] There are three people on Moxil who have such licenses. Jaulik is the official dispenser of these licenses, but occasionally King August and the secretary Jouab will take it upon themselves to issue a license, for the fee is a welcome addition to the district treasury. Jaulik feels that the native officials are putting money above skill in granting these licenses and are thereby endangering the health of the community. He feels that the health of the community is his responsibility and that the issuing of licenses should be in his hands. However, during the period of observation his protests were ignored.

A native practitioner is considered an entrepreneur as are dressmakers and the few who manufacture molasses from the juice of the coconut bud for sale. The standard rate is five cents for each visit or series of visits lasting a week or less. If the treatment should last two weeks or require constant attendance for twelve hours, the fee may be ten cents. A full day's work involving continuous care, which may be considered the equivalent of twenty-four man hours, calls for a fee of twenty or thirty cents. Although these rates have been codified they are seldom adhered to. The practitioner will probably not be paid at all if the treatment is not effective. On the other hand, there is one instance of three dollars being paid for a long series of stomach massage treatments. The specialists are always glad to be of help to a relative or a neighbor. Although they can expect some compensation it will quite often be in the form of a gift of food, rather than a payment in cash.

The use of massage is not limited to the treatment of sore muscles and joints. Wilienter, a boy of fourteen, suffered from an accident when climbing a coconut tree at night in pursuit of terns. The loop of coconut fiber he had around his feet to help him climb broke, causing him to fall against the trunk of the tree in such a way as to bruise his genitals. The next morning he was reported suffering great pain, though there was no outward sign of rupture. Jaulik attempted to treat him without success, then gave permission for native practitioners to try their skill. The ailment called for a specialist in stomach massage. An old woman Catarina, a stomach specialist and close relative of Wilienter, was called in. She too was unsuccessful in relieving the pain.

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[1] See copy in Appendix A.

Tomaj, a young man of thirty-one, was then summoned. In spite of his youth, Tomaj is considered one of the best masseurs on the island for this area of the body. His technique as I observed was to start with the arms and legs and to work toward the stomach where the trouble seemed to lie. Tomaj first poured coconut oil on the inside of Wilienter's thigh. He then rubbed each leg along the inside from the knee up to the crotch. Wilienter seemed to be in great pain from the pressure that was applied, and it was only with difficulty that he could suppress his moans. Next, Tomaj worked on both arms, following the arteries up to the armpits in his massage. From there he went to the stomach, pouring oil over the abdomen and working his hands toward the center of the injured area. The hands moved towards the center of the abdomen pressing in heavily. The treatment was concluded by massaging the small of the back in the area of the kidneys. The whole process was repeated morning and evening for three or four days but with little improvement in the patient. Jaulik was eventually convinced that this was a serious case calling for emergency measures. A few shots of penicillin[1] were administered, and the patient recovered within forty-eight hours. Although it seemed apparent to the observer that the penicillin had been responsible for the cure, many of the people felt that credit should be given to Tomaj and the methods he used.

It is recognized that a native practitioner may be a charlatan. One of the favorite stories of the Mokilese has to do with a Ngatik man named Tamari. His practice in Ngatik was small and many people considered him to be something of a quack. In 1929 when Tamari was about twenty he went as a sailor to Namorik in the Marshalls. There he married and opened up a practice as a specialist on young women, preferably unmarried, suffering from abdominal ailments. Within a few months he had established quite a reputation for curing such ailments, and it was not long before most of the young women went to Tamari for their cures.

Several of the young men became curious about the treatment given by Tamari, and one day one of them spied on him. The next day two other young men came to watch, unknown to Tamari. The cure turned out to be more than massage. After applying massage and finding that his patient was not responding, Tamari would tell her that she must have an injection and that it could only be applied in one way. He would take the bud of a certain tree, squeeze the juice onto the index finger of his left hand, put it on the end of his penis and so insert it into the vagina of the patient. Invariably the patient got well.

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[1] Jaulik has been instructed by the Navy Medical Department to administer penicillin only in more serious cases.

This had gone on for almost two years before Tamari was exposed. How the young girls kept it a secret is difficult to understand. As soon as the young men found out what was going on they spread the word through the village. Tamari had to leave from shame. He told his wife that he was going to visit his relatives in Ngatik and that he would be back, but he never returned.

The fifteen cures that are described in Appendix A call for the use of nine plants that grow on Mokil. Samples of eight of these were found and photographed in the hope that they might eventually be identified. Copies of these photographs with the native names of the plants can be obtained from me.

At a time of sickness it is considered quite proper for many people to visit the patient. Friends and relatives will sit around the sufferer and try to cheer him up with gay conversation and interesting anecdotes. During the period of sickness a dozen or more people will congregate around the patient's bedside at all hours of the day and night. The patient tries to sleep as best he can amidst the hubbub.

The Village

No one lives on the seaward side of any of the three islands of the atoll. There is a shelter for storing copra on the west side of Manton and a sleeping shelter on the north side of Karlap, both exposed to the sea. These two structures are the only ones to be found on the entire seaward shoreline.

The Mokilese are extremely sociable preferring to live as near one another as possible. The village is built along the lagoon shore of Karlap with the greatest concentration of buildings inside the deep curve of this hook-shaped island. The village is attractive and clean. Lining the shore are well constructed docks and large canoe houses. The canoe houses are built primarily for sheltering the canoes and whale boats. Almost every family has one or more canoes; and a majority own whale boats that they have learned to build in recent times. The canoe houses are approximately eighteen by twenty feet and consist of long sloping thatched roofs supported by either four or six posts. There are no walls, but since the roofs come down to within three or four feet of the ground they form adequate shelters even in the heaviest storms.

Just behind the canoe houses running the length of the island parallel to the shore of the lagoon, is a wide well-kept path. In the center of the village the path widens into a street. Immediately beyond the path stand a number of frame houses built of hand-sawn lumber. Their gabled roofs are of galvanized iron, which is now being

replaced by aluminum roofing. These houses are set on five foot posts, and in most cases consist of one or two small rooms with a wide verandah along the front. The people do not live inside these houses, but underneath them. The rooms are used for storing personal belongings, such as their few clothes, the carpentry tools of the men, etc.

Some families do not have frame houses, for their construction involves many months of hard labor. A canoe house, on the other hand, can be made in a few days and is otherwise much better adapted to the Mokilese way of life. Most of a family's activities take place in the canoe house, and it would seem that the only justification for the construction of a frame house is its prestige value and the incidental fact that fresh rain water can be readily collected from its metal roof.

Most families have one or more sleeping houses. These are simple rectangular structures with thatched walls and roofs. Most of the cooking is done under thatched shelters put up for this purpose.

The most imposing edifice on the island is the church. It stands on a piece of high ground near the center of the village. A two-story structure, the church is built on a concrete base and is about thirty by sixty feet in size. It is white stucco with a gabled roof of galvanized iron. The furnishings consist of a pulpit and pews. A balcony runs around three sides of the interior. Although most of the work on the church was done by the Mokilese, a Japanese artisan was called in to pour the concrete. It was finished shortly before the war; and its completion was the occasion for a great celebration. Many relatives came from Pingelap and Ponape to join in the feasting that lasted several days.

The schoolhouse, which is also used as a place for public gatherings, is much less impressive. It consists of a single room with a thatched roof and walls of vertical boards that extend part way to the roof. Attached to the schoolhouse is a frame structure that at one time served as the local jail, but is at present used for public business carried on by King August and the secretary Jouab.

The main taro patch lies behind the center of the village at the deep bend of Karlap. Out of a total of eight acres planted to taro on the entire atoll, six acres are in this patch. Before the typhoon of 1770 most of this location was covered by a salt water marsh. As a result of the typhoon the marsh was cut off from the sea, and eventually the salt water drained out. Since that time the sunken area has been considerably enlarged by excavation and now produces the bulk of the subsistence food of the people.

As one crosses the lagoon toward the Mokil village one sees the neat rows of docks and slips lining the shore and beyond them under the palms, the canoe houses. Each canoe house belongs to a single family. Almost every family lot extends across the island except at the big bend where the island becomes much wider. Here the lots extend only as far as the taro patch. Other structures further inland are scattered over each lot--sleeping houses, frame house, cooking houses, pig sty, ovens, and occasionally a well.

Social Organization

The social and economic system is organized around the extended family called paneyney. There are forty-one such units on the island.[1] Almost all social and economic relationships are in terms of the paneyneys. The members of a paneyney usually include father and mother, sons and their wives and children, unmarried daughters and sometimes the father's brothers and their families and his unmarried sisters. Each paneyney has a head who controls all the paneyney lands scattered in small lots throughout the three islands. In many cases he even controls plots of taro that are not common paneyney property but are privately owned by daughters-in-law or children by adoption.

When the father dies the position of head of the paneyney is usually filled by the oldest son, although more often the brothers break up and form their own paneyneys. Ideally the oldest son gets the lion's share of the paneyney land.

Land can only be acquired by a paneyney through inheritance, dowry brought in by a daughter-in-law, or occasionally by gift. There are only two cases of land being purchased, both of which have been considered questionable transactions by the Mokilese.

The head of the paneyney usually announces his wishes concerning the division of land among his children when he begins to get on in years; however, the actual distribution of the land is very seldom completed until his death. This

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[1] Early in the study one of the secretaries of the native government Renjila listed all the paneyneys according to location, starting from the northwest end of Karlap and following the shoreline of the lagoon to the southeast end. Because of errors and the formation of new paneyneys these numbers indicate only generally the relative geographical position of each paneyney on the island. These numbers have been adopted by the Mokilese when it is necessary to refer paneyney matters to the government in land disputes, etc. For the list of paneyney heads with numbers see Appendix B.

pattern of land distribution has a unifying effect upon the paneyney and acts as a form of old age insurance for the parents. If for some reason the father feels that a son is not deserving, he can easily change his plans for land distribution. This puts the junior members of the paneyney in a completely dependent position, for unless each receives a full share of the paneyney lands he will have inadequate means of supporting himself or his family.

Within a paneyney there may be several elementary families. Each family usually sleeps by itself, small children sleeping in the same house as their parents. Brothers and sisters generally sleep together until puberty. There are no common sleeping houses for the older boys nor for the older girls such as are found in other parts of Micronesia. Girls who have reached a marriageable age are closely supervised, and sleeping arrangements are made so that their behavior can be controlled.

The land is worked cooperatively by all the members of a paneyney. Products of the coconut land are gathered and shared by all. In some cases, however, especially if there is conflict among the junior members for the favor of the paneyney head, limitations are placed upon such free sharing.[1]

In most paneyneys taro cannot be used without the permission of the head of the paneyney in spite of the fact that some taro land is usually owned by junior members. Taro land is often given at birth to a child who is adopted out. When a woman marries into a paneyney, she generally brings a piece of taro land and occasionally a piece of coconut land as dowry. Dowry coconut land is considered paneyney domain. The taro land, on the other hand, is her personal responsibility; it will usually be cultivated by her or her husband. Such high importance, however, is placed upon the consumption of taro that even taro from dowry land can only be harvested by special permission of the head of the paneyney or his wife.

The wife of the head of the paneyney usually has charge of all women's work in the paneyney. She supervises most of the cooking, and in many cases is helped by the other women in carrying out the various chores essential to the welfare of the paneyney. There is considerable variation within this general pattern depending for the most part upon the relative strength of the personalities involved. Some of the younger women complain of mother-in-law trouble--mistreatment by the wife of the paneyney head.

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[1] For an example of such conflicts within a paneyney and the arbitrary limitations that can be set on free sharing of the products of the land see the account of Opet's paneyney in the chapter on cooperation.

Joseph Belep, nominally head of paneyney forty, consisting of himself, his wife and child, is for all practical purposes a member of King August's paneyney. Immediately after the war Joseph Belep and his wife returned to Mokil from Ponape. He owns a little land but it is inadequate to the needs of his family. His taro land was practically ruined by neglect during his six years' absence. He has some coconut land and gets the money from his copra crop, but he is dependent upon August for his taro and most of his bananas and breadfruit.

While Lemwe lived with Joseph in August's paneyney she worked under August's wife's close supervision. Lemwe found the situation intolerable and deserted Joseph to return to the home of her father. This action is part of the accepted pattern. A wife who feels that she is being abused in her husband's paneyney either by beatings given by her husband without cause or by ill treatment from other members, may always return to her father's home. August and his wife Joana maintain that Lemwe is just lazy and went home to her own paneyney to avoid working.

Joseph Belep is considered a working man by most Mokilese. He has no capital goods such as canoes, whale boats or houses. He lives in August's canoe house and cooks his food with August. When Joseph wants to go fishing he either has to use August's canoe or get a man from another paneyney to accompany him and provide the transportation. In order to gather grass and vegetation for his taro patch or bring in copra from Manton, he must use August's canoe since it is considered improper to borrow a canoe from another paneyney for work.

The daily work of making a living is organized around the needs of the paneyney. From early childhood the Mokilese is taught that his primary concern is the well-being of his family. Social and economic security begins with the paneyney, and it is only as an integrated member of this unit that anyone can achieve a stable position within the larger social order. As soon as he can walk, the child assumes duties and obligations, usually beginning with the care of his younger siblings. He learns to do simple things such as running errands, cleaning up the paneyney grounds and helping in the cultivation of the paneyney lands. He soon learns that every member is expected to work and that exceptions are made only for the infirm and babes in arms. The dominating motif of his life is a pattern of cooperation and sharing. A child who has been given a delicacy such as a piece of candy will immediately distribute it among all those present no matter how small the piece may be.

The children of Mokil are loved and made much of not only by members of their immediate families but by all the adults on the island. If a child cries, any woman in the vicinity may offer her breast to comfort it whether she has milk or not. Everybody on Mokil from the older siblings on up to the oldest men seems to enjoy taking care of the babies. Whenever I visited a family in the company of my sixty-one year old friend Are, a good part of his time was spent in fondling the first child who climbed into his lap.

Children are usually weaned before the age of two, and many at the age of one, depending upon the attitude of the parents. Until they are about three years old, every desire of the child is satisfied. At about three years the socializing process begins with a sudden and sometimes traumatic effect. Indulgence comes to an end; and the child is forced to assume obligations that are often rigorously enforced. Although he still has much time to play, he is taught that all of his time is no longer his own. If his obedience is not prompt, he is beaten severely. At this age temper tantrums become a common occurrence. Sometimes these tantrums are precipitated by his peers, but frequently they are an overt expression of the child's rebellion against discipline to which he is not yet accustomed. Temper tantrums may continue to the age of five or six years and even then be quite violent. No effort is made by the parents to placate the child. On the contrary, the parent's attitude is usually that the child is behaving badly and must be punished.

Tijon and Lulu of paneyney twenty-one have two girls of their own. Terko, aged five, is the oldest. Since this family lived next door to us we had a good opportunity to observe their activities, and did so over a period of several months. Terko had frequent temper tantrums. She was always disciplined by her mother even when her father was present. On several occasions Lulu picked up anything that was handy, such as coral gravel or a stick and threw it at the child with great force. If Terko was hurt, as quite often happened, her surprise and pain got no sympathy. One Sunday morning Terko did not respond to the call of her mother who wished to get her ready for church. Instead of coming as she was told she began to scream in protest. Lulu went after the child with a stick and began to beat her although it was quite clear that the child had worked herself into a state where she had little control over her actions. Terko was dragged to the family cistern, stripped of her clothes and held by force under a steady stream of cold water. Her screams of frustration and resentment served only to provoke more brutal treatment from her mother. It was not until the bath had been completed and the child dressed that her screams subsided to heart-rending sobs and

she was left to her own devices.

This scene was observed by some of my Mokilese friends who were not particularly close to either Lulu or Tijon. It was their opinion that these strong disciplinary measures were necessary for the development of good character. In spite of the violence of such episodes the children have reason to feel secure in the affections of the family group. The parents not only take great pride in their children's accomplishments but seem to place their children's pleasures above their own.

During our stay on Mokil we had visitors day and night. Quite often in the late afternoon or in the evening we would entertain them with tea and cake or a small dish of canned fruit. These visitors were usually the older men of the village who loved to sit around over a cup of tea and gossip about their friends. It was seldom that they ate all of the food that was offered. They would pretend in an offhand manner that they were not hungry. When they got ready to leave, the food that was before them would be carefully wrapped up and taken home to their "baby." In many cases these older men had no young children of their own, and the food was taken to one of their grandchildren. Are still refers to his youngest daughter Nel as his "baby," though she is a married woman of eighteen.

According to Mokilese standards a good wife's first allegiance is to her husband and his paneyney. A woman is expected to live with her husband and to work for him and his family. A young girl is often instructed by her father not to return to her father's family without her husband's permission, unless she is being abused by him and his relatives. Up to the time that she is married she is under her father's authority. After marriage her husband assumes control of her activities.

It is commonly held that a husband has the right to beat his wife when she deserves it, and to tell her what she can and cannot do. In actual practice, of course, this ideal pattern is generally modified by various well-known female tactics. In several of the paneyneys it is a recognized fact that the wives of the paneyney heads have more say in paneyney affairs than their husbands. Jemej, head of one of the larger paneyneys, mentioned one time in a gathering of friends that he had a quantity of molasses. Are said that he would like to have some. Jemej hesitated and finally admitted falteringly that he would have to consult his wife. Everyone laughed and jeered at this point.

Although at marriage a woman leaves the paneyney of her birth and becomes a member of her husband's paneyney

she does not thereby sever relations with that of her father. She can expect help from her father and others within her paternal paneyney whenever she is in need. She may ask her father for food without hesitation or embarrassment. These privileges extend to her husband but to no one else within her husband's paneyney, although there may be a close working relationship between the two paneyneys. If her husband is dissatisfied with the treatment he is receiving from his own paneyney he may go and live with his wife's family transferring his loyalty to them. On the other hand, if her husband should beat her unduly or if for other reasons she finds life with his family untenable, a wife may return to her father's house. Marital troubles that may lead to a divorce are usually heralded by the wife's return to the home of her father. In some cases the father will hear that his daughter is in trouble and will go to her husband's paneyney to take her away.

Early in our stay on Mokil a family quarrel occurred in Luelen's paneyney (number thirty-two) that created a public disturbance. Are's daughter Nel had accused her husband Tomaj's older brother's wife of having an affair. She had seen Maria go off into the bush with another man. The evidence was entirely circumstantial and could in no way be proved. Maria retorted by accusing Nel of being lazy and of making trouble--an opinion of Nel shared by many others. Nel answered this criticism by saying that she did not have to work since she had brought both coconut land and taro land into the paneyney and that Maria had better keep quiet since she had brought no dowry land at all.[1]

The rivalry between these two sisters-in-law was intensified by the relationship of the brothers. Maria's husband Noel is not only Luelen's oldest son but also has a forceful character. Luelen is almost an invalid and has consequently turned over the whole administration of the paneyney to Noel. It has been alleged by Are, who takes Tomaj's part, that Noel keeps the bulk of the products of the land for his own family even to the point of occasionally allowing his parents to go hungry. There was found to be little truth in these allegations, but it is true that Noel runs the paneyney with an iron hand and probably to the disadvantage of Tomaj.

Nøel was condemned by most of the people for the public disturbance she had caused. Nevertheless, Are without hesitation went to Luelen's house and took his

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[1] Actually Maria did bring in a negligible amount of dowry land.

daughter away by the hand with great dignity and righteousness. Over the ensuing months, Tomaj and Nel continued to live with Are and work the lands of his paneyney. In spite of these conflicts Are has always felt close to Luelen's paneyney, and it was he who arranged for his favorite son Anru to marry Luelen's daughter Elipina.

Quite often the return of a married daughter to her father's paneyney puts a strain on his economic resources. Little consideration, however, is given to the problem of supporting an additional person. Every man takes pride in the fact that he can take care of his own. From early childhood a sense of security is built up around the paneyney of birth that endures through the crisis of marriage. Because of the tie that the husband and wife have with her paneyney, there is a tendency for them to feel a certain degree of independence from the strong patriarchal control of the husband's father.

Within the paneyney the women do the cooking and weaving, while the men do the "heavy work" and most of the deep sea fishing. There is a tendency for the women to spend much of their time apart from the men. A common part of the pattern, however, is for a man and wife to cooperate in such activities as reef fishing, cultivation of taro, and gathering pandanus leaves for handicraft. This is particularly true of the younger couples. As a person becomes older and achieves more authority and a higher status, more time is devoted to organizing the cooperative work necessary to the smooth functioning of the paneyney.

The term paneyney is also used in a large sense. It may include families that are only remotely related. Obligation and privilege have their main basis in kinship ties. Much of the exchange of gifts, food and labor continuously taking place on Mokil depends on the closeness of the relationships of those involved. The Mokilese feel that the larger the paneyney in this sense of mutual obligations the stronger and more secure its position in the community.

Relationships between paneyneys are often reinforced by several members of two families intermarrying. Close ties can also be achieved through adoption. Adoptions may be made to the apparent economic disadvantage of the family who adopts the child as far as subsistence goes, but the advantage cannot be measured by the amount of land the paneyney owns or the number of people whom the land supports. It is not unusual for a poor man with many children to adopt a child from another equally poor paneyney. The Mokilese have a definite feeling of strength in numbers.

A child at adoption is usually given a piece of the paneyney taro land by his real father that thereafter will be utilized by the foster parents. The treatment of the adopted child is extremely variable. He is often well treated but seldom receives the full consideration in land distribution accorded real sons and daughters. If there are other children in the family to inherit the paneyney lands an adopted son will often return to his paneyney of birth upon maturity. It is expected that he will be given a piece of land by his foster parents when he leaves. Adopted daughters of course present little problem as they will leave the paneyney when they marry. They can expect to be given a piece of taro land and occasionally a piece of coconut land as dowry by their foster parents.

Ties established through adoption may be strong and enduring. Alen and Etikar consider themselves related on the basis of adoptions made many years ago. Jepeti, who is not related to either Alen or Etikar, adopted Alen when he was a small boy. Alen remained in Jepeti's paneyney until he was ten years old at which time he was taken back by his father who felt that Jepeti was neglecting him. After Alen had been adopted, Jepeti had his only son Jojten, and it soon became apparent that most of the land would go to Jojten and Alen would receive little. Jepeti had also adopted Elena who later became Etikar's wife. For the first ten years of Alen's life he lived with Elena in the same household. Since then Alen always considered Elena as his sister. Although Elena has been dead for some time and forty-eight years have passed since the two lived in the same household Alen recognizes a strong kinship bond with her widower Etikar and exchanges gifts with him on ceremonial occasions.

In those cases where the adopted son has remained with his foster parents after he has grown up he is expected to give most of his labor and time to his foster paneyney. However, his relationship with his real father's paneyney continues to be strong, and it is expected that he will bring gifts of food and contribute hours of labor to his real father.

Real Property

The greatest sense of private property is attached to the ownership of land. Subsistence foods produced on the land are shared to a considerable extent on a gift exchange basis, either individually or in community feasts. The copra produced on the land is kept by the paneyney to be divided among its immediate members. Occasionally a relative who is less well-to-do may be invited to take part in a copra cutting and will then frequently be given a share of the proceeds, but such sharing with an outside person is infrequent and cannot be depended upon as a source

of income by those who have little land. Because of the fact that there is not enough land to provide adequately for the increasing population, land is the most highly prized possession on Mokil.

The amount of coconut land as well as taro land that is owned by the various paneyneys has a wide range. Since wealth is measured almost entirely in terms of land a fair estimate of the economic status of each paneyney can be made through the tabulation of land distribution as shown in Table II.

The amount of land owned by each paneyney averages seven and four-tenths acres. The largest holdings controlled by a single paneyney is twenty-one and one-tenth acres as compared with nine-tenths of an acre for the poorest paneyney on the island. Wealth in terms of land holdings is measured by the Mokilese by neither the total acreage controlled by the paneyney nor the per capita average. A paneyney that owns a large amount of land but has many married brothers among whom it will be divided is not considered well off. Neither is a paneyney with few members which has a small amount of land under its control but a high per capita average. A strong and wealthy paneyney is one whose holdings are relatively large but at the same time has only a few elementary families to support. For this reason, Jouab of paneyney thirty and Etijon of paneyney twenty-one are strong and powerful. Airam of paneyney eight, on the other hand, is thought of as being not particularly well off although he ranks third on a per capita basis.

Coconut land is considered the concern of the whole paneyney; and its boundaries are carefully guarded against encroachment by other paneyneys. Individual ownership of coconut land is recognized in the case of dowry land brought into a paneyney by marriage or in the case of land that is acquired by a junior member by gift through adoption. Land that has been divided among several brothers according to the wishes of a father who died may be worked together as one paneyney and the products shared. But here, too, individual ownership is recognized, and each brother has the right to leave the group, take his own land and form his own paneyney. When the brothers remain in one paneyney the eldest brother is considered the paneyney head. The degree of control in these cases depends upon the relative strength of the personalities involved. Occasionally the head of a paneyney which has little land will ask that the land not be divided upon his death. Such a situation will force several brothers to live together as an economic unit in spite of conflicts that might develop between them.

Jorim, the oldest of three brothers is the head of paneyney nineften. One of the brothers Luij has taken land on Ponape and is now living there as a permanent resident. Eluet the youngest brother returned to Mokil in October, 1947, to join Jorim's paneyney. Eluet has spent most of

TABLE II

Ownership of coconut and taro land by Paneyneys.

		Coconut land Hundreds of square feet				TARO ROWS Measured by running foot.			
Pan.	Permanent members.	Total	Rank total	Per Capita	Rank per capita	Total	Rank total	Per Capita	Rank per capita
1	7	3432	14	490	7	1690	21	241	13
2	8	2564	24	320	20	2900	9	362	3
3	5	1704	32	341	17	1500	28	300	6
4	18	2812	22	156	36	2030	15	113	36
5	5	1700	33	340	18	1520	26	304	5
6	6	2644	23	441	9	1280	33	213	19
7	17	6584	3	387	16	4180	4	246	12
8	2	1840	30	920	3	1570	24	785	1
9	8	3152	18	394	15	1570	23	196	22
10	17	4076	11	240	30	1550	25	91	40
11	17	5208	7	306	22	3900	6	229	17
12	5	2452	26	490	6	1400	30	280	8
13	8	2184	27	273	27	2110	13	264	10
14	23	4504	9	196	32	5010	2	218	18
15	11	5028	8	457	8	2230	12	203	20
16	11	3016	19	274	26	3070	7	279	9
17	8	2504	25	313	21	1360	31	170	26
18	8	3226	17	403	12	2830	10	354	4
19	15	1496	35	99	41	1710	20	114	35
20	8	3264	16	408	11	1890	17	236	15
21	7	5816	5	831	4	2040	14	291	7
22	5	5696	6	1139	2	1290	32	258	11
23	5	1976	29	395	14	640	38	128	31
24	7	940	39	134	37	810	36	116	34
25	15	4324	10	288	24	2730	11	182	23
26	16	3012	20	188	33	1930	16	121	33
27	23	9196	1	399	13	4650	3	202	21
28	12	3436	13	286	25	1500	27	125	32
29	24	5856	4	244	29	5690	1	237	14
30	8	9144	2	1143	1	3900	5	487	2
31	15	2072	28	131	38	1580	22	105	37
32	12	1552	34	129	39	1840	19	153	28
33	13	3268	15	251	38	1890	18	145	29
34	10	1828	31	183	34	1420	29	142	30
35	18	3592	12	199	31	2970	8	165	27
36	2	880	40	440	10	470	39	235	16
37	7	1124	37	160	35	1270	34	181	24
38	2	1356	36	678	5	110	41	55	41
39	10	2948	21	295	23	1020	35	102	38
40	3	972	38	324	19	280	40	93	39
41	4	420	41	105	40	710	37	177	25
TOTAL	425	132,798 Av.=318=.73 acres.				84,040 Av.=198 per capita.			

Av.=3239 or #1=2.6 acres per capita. Av.=2050
7.4 acres. #41= .2 acre per capita.
#1=21.1 acres per paneyney.
#41= .9 acre per paneyney.

his life in Ponape working for Nanipei, the native owner of a large coconut plantation in Metalanim. Eluet was taken into the paneyney as a junior member and was told that he could share the copra money as well as the subsistence food. According to Jorim, this was done and Eluet received half of the copra money. One morning Jorim made a request that the paneyney name be taken off of a piece of taro land on Karlap. He said that Aijak's name should be put in its place. This plot belonged to Eluet's wife Anako who received it as dowry land from her father Aijak. Jorim complained that Eluet and Anako had been eating with his paneyney and taking taro from the paneyney land and had never contributed taro to the paneyney from the land owned by Anako. Furthermore, Jorim maintained that Eluet would not do as he was told and that he did more work for Aijak than for his own paneyney. At the time that the trouble broke out, Eluet and Anako were living with Aijak. Eluet has been agitating to have the paneyney lands divided so that he can start his own paneyney. Jorim says that this cannot be done because his father told him shortly before he died that the land was too small to be divided among the brothers. At the present time Jorim is the poorest man on the island having an average of less than one quarter of an acre of land for each member of his family. Jorim's father said that Jorim was to be head of the paneyney and as head was to look out for the younger brothers, who if they wanted to live on Mokil were to share in the use of the land. Neither Eluet nor Luij were present when their parents died. All the responsibility of taking care of the parents in their declining years and providing the funeral kamatip (feast) at their death fell on Jorim. This is held against Eluet and Luij and weakens any claim they might make that Jorim should divide the land among them. Jorim says that he will refuse to divide the land if the case is taken to public meeting.

The proprietary attitude that is now felt toward land is of fairly recent development. In aboriginal times all the land belonged to the Nanau, or King. The products of the land and sea were the property of the King. After receiving the King's permission they were distributed among the people. This system was first modified following the great typhoon of circa 1770. All the land was divided among the three families that survived. Communal use of the products of the coconut land continued much as before, but taro was no longer freely shared. Before the typhoon there had been only one small piece of taro land located on the island of Urak, and consequently taro played a very small part in the diet of the people. Following the typhoon the salt water marsh on Karlap that was later expanded to its present size was cut off from the sea. With this initial expansion of wet land taro acreage, taro became much more important.

It was not until the copra trade was introduced some seventy years ago that private ownership of coconut land assumed any importance. Early in the nineteenth century all of the people were living on Karlap much as they are now. When the whalers began to appear around 1850, the people moved to Manton in order to carry on business more conveniently with the traders.[1] At the beginning of the copra trade all the copra was cut jointly by everyone on the island and the proceeds were distributed among them. Shortly after August's grandfather King Mak died in 1879 many copra companies began to appear at Mokil to compete in the copra trade. Loyalties to the companies became divided, and it was soon decided that each man should deal with the company of his choice independently. It is alleged that for this reason the people no longer cut their copra jointly nor share the proceeds. It is likely, however, that an increase in trade must have made the copra seem more valuable to the Mokilese, and consequently those with larger holdings were reluctant to share evenly with their less fortunate neighbors. Once copra became the exclusive property of the owner of the land on which it grew the sense of proprietorship was applied to other products of the land.

Even during the period when the products of coconut land were shared a man was always considered the exclusive owner of any new variety of food plant that he introduced to the island. He was expected to share the first-fruits of the plant and to give sprouts or seeds to any who wished to grow the plant. Other than that no one could take the fruit without his permission. The custom of sharing the sprouts and seeds of newly introduced plants is still adhered to today, but the first-fruits now belong to the owner. Banana trees are planted by individuals. Trees and fruit are thereafter the planter's exclusive property. The fruit cannot even be picked by other members of his own paneyney without first asking the owner's permission. Coconut and breadfruit trees can also be individually owned although they may be growing on another man's land. Trees growing on land belonging to another are usually acquired in an exchange or as gifts from relatives.

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[1] It was a common practice at that time for the women of Mokil to go aboard a visiting ship for a day or so for the use of the crew. When the missionary Mr. Doane arrived, he put a stop to this and had the people move back to Karlap. Manton was then turned into a pig ranch. The pigs were owned jointly and each week a different family would move to Manton to take care of them.

The boundaries of the coconut land are carefully guarded by all the members of each paneyney against encroachment by other paneyneys. However, the boundaries that divide plots of coconut land belonging to the same paneyney are of little importance and are not clearly defined. Taro land, on the other hand, is an individual matter. The owner is careful to maintain clear cut boundaries even when the neighboring plots belong to members of his own family. In the large taro patch on Kerlap which covers some six acres, there are over three hundred separate plots. Each plot is marked off from the others by a double row of taro, one on each side of the boundary and as close to it as possible. The double rows are not more than six inches apart. The rest of the taro is planted in rows four feet apart as it is admitted that taro planted too close together grows poorly. However this is their only means of defining the boundaries and keeping owners of neighboring plots from "pushing" in.

The proprietary feeling toward taro is much more strongly developed than toward the products of the coconut land. It is considered bad manners for one man to discuss another's taro patch in public. This feeling toward the ownership of taro land might be partially due to the fact that private ownership of taro land has been part of Mokilese tradition for so much longer than private ownership of coconut land. There is also the possibility that in aboriginal times taro was a sacred food; it is now important ceremonially in gift exchange and feasts.

Canoe houses, the most important structures built by a paneyney, are owned by the paneyney as a whole. They are considered to be of such importance to the way of life on Mokil that their upkeep is a matter of public concern and public action. There are forty-seven canoe houses on the island. Only one paneyney Joseph Belep's is without at least one.

Frame houses are of great importance, but more in terms of prestige than utility. There are twenty-six frame houses on the island. They can be owned either individually or by a whole paneyney. If everyone in a paneyney agrees to have a frame house and plays an equal part in its construction, the house is supposed to belong to the whole paneyney. If, on the other hand, one member decides that he wants a frame house and assumes responsibility for its construction it is considered as belonging to him though other members of the paneyney may actually contribute a large part of the labor in building the house.

A sleeping house belongs to the family that uses it. This structure is simple to build and impermanent. It is a small house with thatched roof and walls. There are 107 miscellaneous sleeping houses on Mokil.

Personal Property

Both sailing and paddling canoes belong to individuals, but are freely shared within the paneyney. As in canoe houses every paneyney except Joseph Belep's has one or more. Ownership of canoes is not based entirely on who builds them. If at about the time the individual work of shaping out the hull has begun it is necessary for the builder to leave the island for wage work or other reasons, the canoe may be finished by other members of the paneyney. The canoe, however, will still be the property of the original builder.

In Oliten's paneyney, Boaj decided that he wanted a canoe and the paneyney agreed to help him build it. During the period of construction he was away in Ponape, and the canoe was built by his older brother Tepit and his father Oliten. Tepit sailed the canoe in the New Year races in the absence of Boaj, but the canoe was always spoken of as belonging to Boaj.

In some cases the man who wants the canoe is not as good a canoe builder as older members of the paneyney; consequently his role in the construction may be quite secondary. Ideally the canoe will still be his property, but who actually uses the canoe may depend to a large extent upon the personalities involved.

In Luelen's paneyney (number thirty-two) Noel the oldest son is considered one of the best canoe builders in the younger generation. He did most of the work of building a canoe for his younger brother Tomaj while Tomaj was on Mokil. Noel also sailed Tomaj's canoe in the races with the help of another man outside of the paneyney while Tomaj looked on. From all appearances it seemed that the canoe belonged to Noel. About a month after the races, however, Tomaj became very indignant when Noel borrowed his canoe without permission. Noel had gone fishing for Bonito accompanied by his wife. Tomaj pointed out that Noel had not asked his permission to use the canoe and based his main objection on an old taboo. It is said that if a woman who has not washed her vagina goes bonito fishing, the canoe she goes in becomes unfit for further fishing until it is thoroughly washed in salt water, and even then the canoe may be unlucky. Though Tomaj's argument and claim to ownership were recognized as valid, they carried little weight with Noel. At the time I left Mokil several months later, Noel still used the canoe as his own.

When a man builds his first canoe it is considered an event. Leis of flowers are made and hung on the rigging. The launching and first cruise is watched by all the members of the paneyney with great interest, and every precaution is taken to avoid overturning it as it is considered extremely unlucky to capsize on a maiden voyage. The first fish caught from a new canoe is always distributed among the kin of the owner. If the catch is large enough, the fish will be distributed among the people according to a definite order as far as it will go.

The building of a whale boat is a much larger project than building a canoe. Whale boats invariably belong to the paneyney although the head may be recognized as the true owner. Occasionally two closely related paneyneys will cooperate in the construction of a whale boat in which case they will share in its use. The whale boat's greatest value is in the copra trade for transporting copra to the ship. In the fall of 1947 all the copra was being transported freely by whoever owned whale boats. A week or so before the ship was expected all the copra, as it was prepared, was transported to the west side of Manton where it was stored in the public shed built for that purpose. Several months later, however, it was decided in public meeting, due to the protests of those who had whale boats but little copra, that thereafter each man would be responsible for carrying his own copra to the ship. The former system was much more efficient since there were only a few hours in which to get the copra aboard and it was difficult to get it there before time for the ship to leave. The distance from Karlap is almost a mile further than from the shed on Manton besides which a great deal more of the reef must be traversed, a task that at low tide is almost impossible with a full load.

Other items that are owned individually by the men are carpentry tools, nets, fishing tackle, sleeping mats, chickens and pigs. The women own their own cooking utensils, dishes and handicraft articles such as mats. Clothes and jewelry are, of course, owned individually. Chickens and pigs are never owned by married women but always by their husbands, for a woman hands over her livestock to her husband when she marries. Single women and young men approaching manhood can, however, own livestock, usually acquired as gifts from the head of the paneyney.

CHAPTER II

PRODUCTION

Subsistence

The most striking characteristic of Mokil economy is the direct dependence on the land. Life on Mokil is sustained for the most part by the food and the materials that are raised and manufactured by hand. Production for money is important but only to the extent that the people have learned to want and need the refined foods, the efficient tools and the manufactured goods that are obtained through trade. Clothes, steel tools, sail cloth, cigarettes, flour, rice and sugar now play an important part in the life of the people. But great as the hardship would undoubtedly be the people could provide for their basic need if contact with the outside world were entirely cut off.

During the war, trade with foreign markets was interrupted for several years. Left to their own devices the Mokilese were able to manage. According to their own account they suffered more from the lack of cloth than from anything else. For many years the people had been taught by the missionaries that they must wear clothes, especially to church and public affairs; dresses for the women, and pants, shirts and even coats for the men. Their sense of modesty had developed to such a point that when their clothes wore out they felt ashamed to leave the shelter of their own homes. In aboriginal times cloth was manufactured from fiber made from the stalk of the banana tree, but this art had been lost over the years.

A second commodity that was sorely missed was tobacco. The land of Mokil is too poor to raise the plant and the only substitute, a poor one indeed, is the leaf of the papaya. A few were inconvenienced by the lack of matches but this was not too serious as the people still knew the technique of making fire with the fire plow. People were amused by the efforts of the more ardent smokers to light their cigarettes by this method while fishing for bonito. Getting a light with a fire plow is difficult even under sheltered conditions and bonito fishing is done in a high wind.[1] People who tried to light cigarettes

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[1] The wood of the fire plow must be extremely dry. A small stick is rubbed back and forth in a groove made in a larger piece of wood for several minutes. Dust forms and as the friction increases slowly reaches the point of ignition. When the dust begins to smolder it is tapped together into a small coal and placed in a piece of dry coconut husk. If the wind should be blowing and cause the dust to scatter the process must be repeated from the beginning.

under these conditions spent more time with the fire plow than in fishing. A shortage of matches in the village is not particularly inconvient. Even when matches are available it is the practice for the women to carry burning embers from one hearth to another in a folded pandanus leaf.

The period of isolation was relatively short. Were it to become permanent the most serious disruption, to the technology at least, would result from the eventual disappearance of steel tools. The land provides the raw materials but it is with steel tools that these materials are converted into the useful forms essential to daily life. To return to the aboriginal methods of production would be all but impossible to the modern Mokilese. Before white contact the only tools were adzes, crude axes and knives made from shell. The men are familiar with these ancient tools and are still able to make a few of them. They look upon them, however, as curios far too crude to be of any practical use.

Wealth is not measured by the tools that are so important to production. Jorim of paneyney nineteen, considered one of the poorest men on the atoll, has a fine set of tools and is quite capable of manufacturing a whale boat, canoe, or frame house without help from outside of his paneyney. Joaj of paneyney forty-one, equally poor in terms of land, enjoys a little better position because of the fact that he has a better reputation for industry. Joaj did not build his first sailing canoe until he was forty-two. It is unusual for a man of that age not to have already made several sailing canoes. Undoubtedly the reason for this delay was the unfavorable circumstances under which he had been forced to live for most of his life.

Joaj is the illegitimate child of Lete. Until the age of forty-one he had lived with the paneyney of Kiristoba, Kiristoba being the eldest son of Lete's dead husband Kojtes. As an illegitimate child he had no claims on land other than the dowry land that his mother might wish to share with him, and consequently was treated like a "working man" in Kiristoba's paneyney. The situation finally became so impossible that Lete, Joaj and his wife Elena moved to the tiny bit of land owned by Lete and started a new paneyney. Their resources are far from adequate, and it is only by the hardest work and the most careful conservation that they are able to get along. Practically their entire money income is derived from the quantities of handicraft made by Elena and Lete. Joaj is able to supplement the needs of his small paneyney by taking part in the kind of cooperative work for which food that can be taken home is provided by the host. He

also spends more time fishing than men with more land who are not so dependent upon this source of food. In spite of all this industry Joaj has lean days. While I was conducting a two week survey of the diet of fourteen families, there was a period of two days in which not a single full meal was prepared in this household. Joaj and Elena were able to manage by going to Elena's father Etikar for food although Etikar is also a poor man. Lete drank a few green coconuts on these days and ate a few ripe bananas but neither of these in themselves is considered real food.

Although Joaj is poor and has a low status among the people, he is respected for his skills and industry. William Luta of paneyney thirty-one is almost as poor in terms of land holdings. But his status is much lower than Joaj's. Although he is in his late fifties he has never made a canoe, and everyone says that he is not able to do so. This in itself is one of the most serious criticisms that can be made of a man. William has taro land but he dislikes working the taro, and as a result has only a few small plants. He does not join the cooperative groups called "companies" which are formed generally to do heavy labor. In short, he does few of the things that the Mokilese take pride in. His father was a Marshall man. William has many relatives in the Marshalls with whom he has spent considerable time. The Mokilese say he is a "different kind of man."

I soon found out that he knew more aboriginal dances than anyone on the atoll, both of Marshall and Mokil origin. William found his big chance to enhance his prestige when we tried to revive these dances which had been banned by the missionaries. For he not only had the job of teaching the young men the dances that he excelled in, but also spent long evenings at the white men's house teaching them the songs and showing off the dances.

On New Year's when we were watching the annual sailing races, William began to show off by starting his favorite Marshall dance and song. He turned to Are who has a crippled arm about which he is very self-conscious and ridiculed the fact that because of this infirmity Are was incapable of performing the dance. Are has a short temper and a bitter tongue. In the midst of this public gathering at which the King and all of the important people of the village were present, Are told William that all he knew was "pel le tuya" (the name of the Marshall song he had been singing), that he had no land, he raised no taro, and he could not even make a canoe. Are continued that he was too lazy to do his own work and spent all of

his time begging food from others. This was the most damning thing that could be said about any Mokilese. William reached for his knife with obvious intention but the two were separated by the onlookers. I felt certain that William would be the enemy of Are for the rest of his life. The following afternoon, however, these two went off bonito fishing together in Are's canoe.

Everyone in the village was amused at this episode. It was a favorite topic of gossip for several days. What Are had said about William was essentially true but Are would never have dared to make this denunciation in public if he himself did not stand on firm ground. Are has more land, raises fine taro and is a good worker considering that he is beyond the age of retirement from active work, being sixty-one years old.

AGRICULTURE

Taro

A favorite saying on Mokil is that food is "number one." Taro far outranks the other foods in importance as it is the one staple that can be drawn upon in predictable quantities all through the year. More time is spent on the cultivation of taro than on all the other foods combined. Such cultivation is laborious work involving the digging of pits deep enough to reach below the water level five to twelve feet deep, and the building up of artificial humus which takes generations of endless toil. The importance of taro in the economy of Mokil has been increasing as the population increased. In the pre-typhoon days, taro was raised only in limited quantities. There were three natural swamps on the atoll suitable for taro cultivation, two on Urak and one on Manton. At that time taro probably had little other than a ceremonial value. With the closing of the salt water marsh that once existed on the site of the present large taro patch on Karlap an opportunity was created to expand taro culture. From that time on, although it did not cease to have ceremonial value, it became more and more important as a staple.

Without taro cultivation it is doubtful whether the people would be able to support themselves on this small infertile atoll. For this is the only type of intensive cultivation that is carried on in Mokil. The food plants grown on "coconut land" which is the Mokilese term for all productive dry land are cultivated very unsystematically. Most of them require little care while they are maturing.

Up to 1940, the expansion of taro pits had been almost entirely limited to increasing the acreage of the large taro pit on Karlap. At the beginning of the war, many of

the people moved away from the village for fear of attack from American planes. Most of the people lived on Urak during this period, a few on Manton. From these islands it was a hardship to go by canoe to the main pit. Since the copra trade was interrupted by the war the people had time to dig new taro pits. A man dug one on Urak in 1941 as an experiment. When it was discovered that taro could be grown successfully there everyone started to dig taro pits both on Urak and Manton. Between 1940 and 1948 the area given over to taro cultivation was increased from six to eight acres. The people returned to Karlap when the war was over but the impetus that the war had given to the expansion of taro on the other two islands continued. Several new taro pits were dug on Urak and Manton while I was there. Undoubtedly more and more land will be turned over to taro as a means of increasing food production to meet growing needs, for there is little likelihood of new food plants being introduced which, like taro, will produce large yields in a small area and at the same time be non-seasonal.

Digging taro pits is recognized as the most difficult work. But the security that possession of plenty of taro provides as a constant food supply and the prestige that has been attached to its cultivation is sufficient incentive for every man to expand his taro land holdings. Not only can wet land taro be planted and harvested at any time of the year, but some varieties will mature sufficiently in six months to be eaten while other varieties can be left in the ground for at least fifteen years. It is said that there are taro on Mokil that are as much as twenty years old.

The preparation of the taro patch takes many months. First a pit must be dug to below the water table. The natural soil found on Mokil being far too sandy and poor to raise taro, a man must go to another part of one of the three islands where humus can be found in limited quantities. Not every man has humus on his own land and consequently it may be necessary for him to ask a neighbor or relative for humus for his new taro patch. Gathering the humus and carrying it to the taro patch is considered woman's work. It is usually done in cooperation by the women from more than one paneyney. When a layer of humus has been spread over the bottom of the taro pit, leaves and grass are brought in to enrich the soil which over many years will form a dark sticky muck. The best taro patches are those that have been in existence for many years. However, a taro patch can be made to produce within two years after the humus has been brought in. The quality of the patches varies and it is recognized that certain parts of the large taro patch on Karlap and some of the small patches on the other two islands are

better suited to one variety than another. As shown on the map of the main taro patch on Karlap (Enclosure four), there are five grades of taro land. Grade one will grow taro rapidly and plants can be left in the ground for twenty years. It also produces the best quality. Taro land of this quality is found only on the south end of the large patch on Karlap. This area is probably one of the oldest pieces of taro land on the entire atoll. Grade two consists of land in which taro will also grow rapidly but cannot be left in the ground for more than ten years. The quality is almost as good as that of grade one. In grade three the taro grows very slowly and the quality is inferior. Grade four refers to that land which has been affected by salt water seeping in. Grade five is new taro patches that have not yet begun to produce. It will be noted that along the outside edge of the main taro patch on Karlap nearest the ocean the land is either grade three or grade four. For many years this large taro patch was being expanded towards the ocean until it was found that salt water was beginning to seep in and spread to neighboring patches injuring much of the land. One such incident occurred in 1925. The individual patch shown on the land of Lepen on the northern edge of the patch was said to have produced very fine taro until Enter expanded it towards the sea. Now it is one of the poorest patches on the atoll. Most of the taro patches on Urak are grade two or grade three and are considered good producers. Presumably most of the new patches will be on this island in the future.

There are twenty-four varieties of taro on Mokil. These are divided into two main types, sawa (colocasia esulenta) and mweng (cyrtosperma chamissonis). Sawa matures

TABLE III

VARIETIES OF TARO

TYPE I (Sawa)	KIND OF GARDEN	ORIGIN	WHEN INTRODUCED (circa)
1. táwa	dry and wet land	Mokil	
2. pém*ru	wet land	Mokil	
3. sáwa en palau	wet land	Palau	1942
4. sáwa en ruk	wet land	Truk	1912
5. wut	dry land	Ponape	1925
6. kimweng	wet land	Ponape	1942
7. p*kar (red)	wet land	Mokil	
8. p*kar (white)	wet land	Mokil	
9. piter	wet land	Pingelap	1942

TABLE III (continued)

TYPE II (Mweng)	KIND OF GARDEN	ORIGIN	WHEN (circa) INTRODUCED
1. sonbóngwenu		Ngatik	1942
2. wénmweng		Pingelap	1927
3. tongivim		Ngatik	1937
4. paylingayling	All	Ngatik	1937
5. séri*		Pingelap	1927
6. aik*m	wet	Pingelap	1927
7. warau		Mokil	
8. shálingwálik	land.	Ngatik	1937
9. pákilámon		Mokil	
10. shimítin		Mokil	
11. ts*nts*l		Mokil	
12. mwénginásik		Ngatik	1917
13. mwengshóang		Ngatik	1937
14. pám*tél		Ponape	1937
15. sh*koki		Pingelap	

rapidly and can be harvested within six months to a year after planting. Sawa is quite small but the quality is excellent. Most varieties of mweng take up to five years to mature. These are much coarser than sawa but preference is really a matter of taste and many people prefer the taste of mweng to the more delicate flavor of sawa. I have seen corms of mweng that are over two feet long and one foot in diameter.

Up to 1940 the most important variety of taro was shimítin. It is not known when this variety was introduced to Mokil. Shimítin was very popular although it demanded careful cultivation and frequent mulching. The Mokilese were continually experimenting with new varieties introduced from other islands but no type had been found that would replace shimítin. In 1940, a blight in the form of an insect attacked shimitin and most of it died out within a year. This happened before taro patches had been developed on the other two islands. For the following two years the people were dependent upon the few varieties that were blight resistant. It was a difficult time for the Mokilese. In 1942, Alen Jonoton brought in a variety of mweng called sonbóngwenu. Although the quality was inferior to some other types it was found that it matured rapidly and produced many young plants. In six months it would mature sufficiently to be eaten and in two years it would equal the size of five year old shimítin. In contrast to other types of taro, sonbóngwenu requires little attention and cultivation. The soil can be quite poor and need not be worked continuously.

For the past few years the people have devoted only a few hours a week to taro cultivation. The old men are continually talking about the good old days when nearly everyone in the village would be out in the taro patch soon after dawn every day and again in the late afternoon. The old men say that now they have plenty of taro to eat, but the quality is poor and the skill required to raise the better kinds of taro has been lost. There is no way any more of determining who is "number one" in a kamatip (feast) because most of the people bring sonbóngwenu as their contribution. This whole problem of taro cultivation has become so serious in the minds of the Mokilese that it was decided to make a public issue of it at the New Year's annual meeting of 1948. It was decided then that at the next New Year's kamatip every man must contribut two taro, one sh*koki, and one seri*. These two varieties are considered the most desirable in terms of quality and hardiness. The contributions are to take the form of a contest to find out who is the best at raising taro on Mokil. It was made very explicit that sonbóngwenu could not be used for this kamatip. Each woman is supposed to contribute three chickens but not as part of the contest. This decision was handed out as a proclamation by August. I was assured by Alen and others that the men were very pleased.

The effect of this New Year's proclamation was to stimulate taro cultivation. For the next few months while I was still on Mokil some fifty men could be seen in the taro patch every morning instead of the mere handful of older men seen there before the proclamation. The old men were pleased with this development. They spent a good deal of time laughing and talking about how they were returning to the good old days. Some of the men said that the women were not happy about the new emphasis on taro cultivation because though they are expected to work in the taro patch they take no part in the prestige system enjoyed by the men. Moreover, they get tired more easily than the men and complain of the hardship of spending long hours at weeding, harvesting, replanting and feeding.

The method of planting sawa is to cut off most of the root and part of the leaves and stalk of the mature plant as it is harvested. The top part of the root with the remaining leaves and stalk is replanted and allowed to stand for one month until the root begins to sprout. Then the leaves of a tree called "mes" are placed around the root for three days to two weeks depending upon the variety of taro and the pet theory of the planter. These leaves are then covered with muck and allowed to stand for another week at which time more mes is placed around the root. This routine of putting leaves and muck around the plant is continued for three months. If it is intended that the sawa should mature sufficiently to be eaten within

a year the process is only continued for a month and a half. Sawa is planted about eighteen inches apart in rows four feet apart, and the planting and harvesting is staggered so that there is a continuous supply of mature plants.

The varieties of mweng are cultivated in somewhat the same way as sawa. The main difference in procedure is that a form of grass called "mok*r*k" is used in addition to the leaves of the tree mes. Replanting is done by cutting off the root and the long leaves. The top of the root and the stalk is put back in the hole in which the harvested corm had matured. After one month roots start to form. At this time mok*r*k is put around it. After two or three days dirt or muck is heaped up over the grass and root and allowed to stand for one to two weeks. By this time roots should begin to show. In new taro patches, sprouts from the mature plant are gathered and planted. For the new sprout the same kind of leaves and grass are used.

Most mweng is planted from eighteen inches to three feet apart depending upon the purpose for which the taro is intended. If a man is raising taro for a kamatip which means prestige, the plants will probably be at least three feet apart. Taro that is just being raised for home consumption is sometimes planted closer together. A common practice is to plant the taro at close intervals and as the plants mature, to harvest alternate ones so that the distance between them is doubled. The remaining plants will be left in the ground for many years to be used eventually for prestige. The distance between the rows of taro is always four feet except at the boundaries of the plots.

Another practice is to alternate mweng and sawa. This can only be done in a limited part of the taro land. Mweng will grow anywhere that sawa will grow. However, sawa requires much richer soil than mweng and there are many parts of the taro patches that are known to be incapable at least at the present time of producing sawa. No man will depend entirely upon sawa as it is much more delicate than mweng and succumbs more readily to various diseases. The ideal taro patch consists of two-thirds to three-quarters of mweng and the remainder of sawa.

The daily consumption of taro on Moxil is difficult to estimate. A record of the amount of taro as well as other foods consumed by fourteen families was kept for over two weeks. It was found that the amount of taro consumed depended upon what other foods might be available. The people definitely practice a conservation policy with respect to taro. If there were always plenty of taro it would undoubtedly be eaten every day, probably at the rate of one corm (between two and three years old) per person. As it now stands taro is their food reserve. It is their

guarantee against hunger when the seasonal crops are not available. It is estimated that there is an average of 113 plants per capita. Individual ownership ranges from as few as fifty plants to as many as 450 plants per person. The quality and size of the taro is probably as important as the number. The consensus seemed to be that those who had an average of 130 plants or more were fairly well off. However, there is not a single man on Mokil who will not say that he needs more taro than he has.

When I was mapping the large taro patch on Karlap, I found several plots owned by Jouab, the richest man on the island, that were overgrown with weeds. I remarked that Jouab must be a rich man indeed since he could afford to neglect his taro. When Jouab heard about this the effect was impressive. The following day, Jouab had his entire family out in the taro patch weeding all day even throughout the noon heat. Jouab came to me after this and blamed the neglect of his taro patch on illness. Some people speak with envy of Jouab and say that he could eat taro every day. True or not the fact remains that he does not eat taro every day, but substitutes other foods when they are available.

Sugar cane

The only other plant that plays a part in the prestige economy of the Mokilese is sugar cane. In this case prestige is built up by generosity in giving rather than by skill in growing. Sugar cane is extremely important for certain ceremonial kamatips such as one given for a first child. Sometimes sugar cane is also substituted for green coconuts at other kamatips. A man who brings as many as ten large sugar canes to a kamatip is praised.

The Mokilese like anything that is sweet. I have seen them make tea in which in five gallons of water they put approximately an ounce of tea and five pounds of sugar. Frequently at public meetings one will hear a man complain of the theft of some of his sugar cane. No one takes such complaints seriously as it is a well known fact that children make frequent raids on the sugar cane of their own paneyneys.

Sugar cane is used mainly as a confection. The people chew the stalk to extract the sweet juice. In April, 1947, one of the Mokilese who had become familiar with the process for making sugar on Ponape experimented with it and succeeded in making sugar. The people thought that the sugar was good, but nevertheless no more sugar was made.

There are six different varieties of sugar cane recognized by the Mokilese. Only one of these was introduced at a time unknown to the present generation, and this one is consequently considered indigenous.

TABLE IV

VARIETIES OF SUGAR CANE

VARIETY	ORIGIN	WHEN INTRODUCED (circa)
tawas*	Mokil	
shokala	Ponape	1885
tankaray	Kusaie	1897
tanway	New Guinea	1912
tanpalau	Palau	1938
tankwas	Japan	1942

"ta" means sugar cane in Mokil.

One of the main problems in raising sugar cane is that it interferes with the growth of taro. It will grow only in the taro patch, but as it matures it sends out long roots which spread through the plot.

Sugar cane is cultivated by planting the sprout of the cane in a hole six or seven inches deep and eight inches in diameter. The bottom of the hole must be above water level. Mulch is spread around the roots and the hole filled with dirt. Sugar cane will grow six to nine feet tall in six months.

Wet land taro is the only form of intensive gardening practiced on Mokil. The various subsistence foods grown on "coconut land" or dry land is done casually. After the seeds and sprouts are put in the ground they are left to shift for themselves. There is some question as to whether intensive gardening on dry land would produce food in sufficient quantities to justify the effort involved. The soil is of the typically poor quality common to atolls. Until a systematic method of fertilization is adopted that would be suitable to dry land gardening a dependable harvest can hardly be expected. People are continually comparing this land with the rich land of the volcanic island of Ponape, pointing out that by merely scattering seeds on the ground the Ponapeans achieve rapid growth and heavy yields.

The coconut plantations present a striking contrast to the neat taro patches with their straight rows and careful cultivation. Underbrush and a variety of weeds cover the land as far as the eye can see. Dead leaves and discarded coconut fronds conceal fallen trees. An

occasional clear space reveals a few arrowroot and wut (dry land taro) that someone has planted. In the chaos beyond, young breadfruit trees and here and there a pandanus shoot or papaya is barely discerned in the shadow of great coconuts and massive breadfruit. Except for the few obscure paths winding through the interior of the island and the lines of paired coconut trees marking the land boundaries everything looks untouched. Actually the land is cleared once a year and the trash burned. In a matter of a few months, however, the land takes on the same unkept appearance. Nevertheless, every man knows precisely the location and condition of each of his plants and trees.

No prestige is attached to any dry land crop, and no one is disappointed if the various subsistence food plants give poor yields. Anxiety is felt only for their taro and the breadfruit season. Because of the fact that taro, breadfruit and, to a lesser extent, bananas are the only reliable crops, little effort is devoted to the cultivation of any of the other products of the land. This attitude is hard to understand in the light of their experiences following the typhoon of 1905 in which both the taro and breadfruit were destroyed. Until these two staples could be revived their only food was derived from the remaining dry land products. They also planted quantities of squash and pumpkin, and discovered at this time that these provided a very satisfactory addition to their meager diet.

The reason that the cultivation of subsistence plants has not been carried out on a wider scale on coconut land is that all dry land crops have been dominated by the exigencies of the copra trade. High value was first attached to copra when trade became important about 1890. At that time, the large area in the center of Urak (shown in Enclosure II), now no longer producing copra, was devoted to breadfruit, a subsistence food. This was sacrificed to copra production. It exemplifies the attitude the Mokilese have now, and the development of this attitude. With the encouragement of a German trading company and the rapid development of the copra trade, the Mokilese proceeded to cut down the breadfruit and plant coconut. The land produced well for several years but in 1905 a typhoon destroyed many of the coconut palms throughout the island. Coconuts were replanted in the area in question. Large yields were harvested in 1909 and 1910, but after 1913 there was a noticeable decline in production which thereafter fell off rapidly. By 1925 the area was given up as a commercial venture. Many coconut palms still stand but are of little value as it is estimated that not more than a thousand nuts will be taken from the entire area in a cutting.

In the last twenty to thirty years more and more of the land given over to copra at the expense of subsistence foods has become worn out, until now there are some fifty acres that the people find practically worthless for this purpose. Nevertheless, the coconut trees have been left standing; and the only effort which has been made outside of the planting of a few breadfruit trees to utilize some of this land for the cultivation of subsistence foods is the digging of taro pits on those areas in the center of Manton and Urak where the people can be relatively confident that taro will not be affected by salt water seepage. Other worn out copra land such as the strip running down the center of the southward extension of Karlap is not sufficiently distant from salt water to be safe for taro, and is left in a more or less unproductive state.

It seems obvious that food production could be increased by cutting down these poorly bearing coconut trees, for they interfere with the growth of many useful crops. Dry land taro and arrowroot could be grown in quantity in such cleared areas. The Mokilese have demonstrated to themselves that squash and pumpkin which they find palatable can also be raised successfully where coconut trees do not interfere. Moreover, they are non-seasonal, and can be kept for several months after harvesting. When I approached them with such a plan they agreed that it sounded good but said that they did not have time to carry out the project.

Coconut

The products of the coconut trees probably serve more diverse purposes and fill more needs than any other plant raised on the atoll. It is not only the main basis of the money economy but provides much of the food, and the raw material for many other products. As lumber its use is limited except where a particularly hard dense wood is needed. For instance, the wood is used for the long spears used in fishing outside the reef, and in canoe building for the lattice work that forms the decking and for the spring bow and other parts of the outrigger. In aboriginal times sections of coconut logs were used to make drums for dancing.

The fine fiber used in handicraft is manufactured from the young coconut frond. Rough mats, baskets, cooking containers for baking foods in the um (oven) and other household items are made from the matured fronds. When strong fibers are needed for temporary lashings they can be quickly stripped from the center of a coconut frond. For this they take a mature coconut frond and make a cut on the inside near the base. The outside layer of fiber on the underside is gripped in the teeth and stripped off in one piece down the entire length of the frond.

In addition to its use as temporary lashings it is frequently made into a loop to assist in climbing the coconut trees that have not had notched steps cut into the trunks. The feet are placed inside the loop. In climbing, the loop straddles the trunk of the tree. As a man climbs up the tree he pulls himself up by his hands; his feet, held together by the loop, are placed on either side of the trunk. The loop thus strengthens the grip of the climber's feet, as his hands get a higher hold. Both feet are then drawn up together and the man proceeds up the tree.

Dried coconut fronds are used for making torches for night fishing. The lashings used for this purpose are again the fiber from the inside of the frond. Dried coconut fronds from which the leaves have been stripped are used as skids in beaching their canoes and whaleboats, and also as clubs, for bruising breadfruit in salt water in the preparation of mar (pit breadfruit). Whole fronds are often made into a drag for catching small fish such as apil along the lagoon shore of the islands. Even the sprouts that develop at the base of the tree are used as a medicine.

Green and ripe coconuts are both used as food. Very little of the flesh of the ripe nut is eaten but after it has been grated and mixed with a small amount of fresh water the cream is squeezed out. This cream is an important ingredient in many Mokilese recipes. The milk of the ripe coconut is only occasionally used in cooking. A limited amount is fed to the pigs, but generally it is poured out on the ground as the coconuts are opened.

Every paneyney has one or more coconut trees set aside for the exclusive production of molasses. The ends of the buds from which the coconuts would normally grow are sliced off, and the juice that oozes out is funneled into a quart bottle hung below the bud with coconut fiber. The cut face and the oozing juice is protected from the sun by a piece of coconut leaf. The bottles are changed and the end of the bud is sliced open again morning and evening. A single tree can be expected to produce one to one and a half quarts of juice every twenty-four hours. This juice, called "cus," is boiled down to make molasses. One gallon of cus will make approximately one quart of molasses. Cus can also be made into an alcoholic drink by letting it stand for several days until it ferments. Little is made, however, for the people of Mokil have developed little taste for this beverage. Cus that has been left standing for one day ferments into a kind of yeast which can be used in making breads and cakes.

Oil for cooking, medicine and perfume is made from ripe coconut. The coconut is grated and the cream extracted and left to set over night. The oil that forms is then skimmed off and boiled for one hour. After the sediment has settled to the bottom the clear oil is carefully poured into a clean container. The Mokilese have a reputation among the Ponapeans for making superior perfumed oil. A small amount of this is sold to the Ponapeans from time to time. Before the oil can be used for perfume the slight odor of coconut must be removed. This is done by bringing the oil almost to a boil and then pouring it into a fresh pan. The process is repeated until all the odor has disappeared. Most of the blossoms used for the perfume are gathered from the iit tree. The blossoms are dried in the sun for an hour after being cut into small pieces. They are then thrown into the processed oil for about five minutes, after which the oil is strained through a cloth ready for bottling.

The standard beverage on Mokil is the water of the green coconut. A large number of coconuts are consumed in this form. Many of the coconuts that grow on Mokil are too small to be of much value in copra production. They are consequently thought of as drinking coconuts. The water of large nuts, too, however, which would be suitable for copra is often drunk. In spite of the high value that is placed on copra production apparently little effort is made to conserve them. The flesh of the green coconut, called "pidgin meri," is a favorite baby food and is also used for convalescents. During the day when they are working the men take time off to cut open a couple of nuts and drink the water and eat the flesh.

The Mokilese do not recognize any different varieties of coconut although there is considerable variation in the appearance of the fruit that is produced and also in the quality. One of the most important distinctions made in terms of quality is that the green nuts from certain trees have an edible husk. The edible husk type is called "atol" as contrasted to the others called "pen." Strips of the fibrous husk of atol are pulled off by the teeth and chewed to extract the sweet juice. Another practice is to bake the whole atol in an um. The cooked form is chewed in the same manner. It is said that atol is a favorite of the women and that it is particularly good for those who are pregnant.

In spite of all the emphasis that has been placed on the cultivation of coconut and the many years of experience that the people have had in raising them they have little knowledge of how to control either size or quality. A tree that bears atol is highly prized, but they have found by experience that a sprout from a coconut that bears atol

is just as likely to produce a tree that will yield pen, and, by the same token, a sprout from pen may produce a tree bearing atol. Further, the people have no knowledge of what makes a tree grow large or produce nuts in clusters (imwey) or small with nuts not in clusters. Nevertheless, the people always plant the sprouted nut from a large tree in the hope that it will mature into a large tree.

Some coconuts are planted when the nuts have just begun to sprout, while others are not planted until the sprouts are several feet high. No fertilizer of any kind is used. Before the war the Japanese attempted to introduce a method of planting larger trees in a hole four feet in diameter and four feet deep. This practice has been discarded as the people say that it does not produce better trees. Trees mature in from five to seven years depending on the soil, and many bear for as long as one hundred years. Production begins to fall off after forty years.

Breadfruit

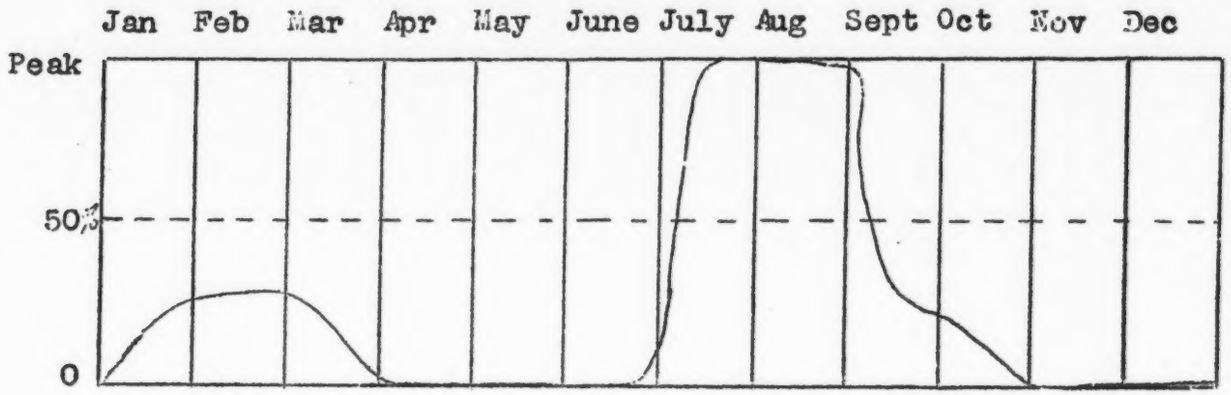
The most important food grown on coconut land is breadfruit. Its greatest drawback is that it is seasonal. However, the Mokilese have a method of preserving and storing it in pits. Pit breadfruit, called "mar," is made in the following manner: the fruit is peeled, quartered and the core removed. It is then placed in a large net and soaked in the lagoon for two days. While it is soaking in the salt water it is pounded with coconut fronds to bruise it. After two days the fruit has turned into a mash which is placed in a pit lined with breadfruit leaves. The mash is covered with more leaves, and sometimes mats will be placed over the deposit which are held down with rocks. After three more days the pit breadfruit is taken out so that the pit can be relined with fresh leaves. The pit is relined in another three days and thereafter at increasing intervals of one week, two weeks and one month. Pit breadfruit can be kept for several years in this manner. A variant of the process is to soak the breadfruit in salt water for about three hours and spread it out on a mat covered with coconut leaves to dry for three days. The rest of the process is the same as above.

The main breadfruit season, as shown in Figure I, occurs during the months of June, July and August. Some breadfruit also ripens during the dry season but not enough to supply all the people on Mokil. The ripening of the breadfruit in June is the signal for a celebration. On one day the men have fishing contests while the women prepare huge feasts of breadfruit. On another day the women

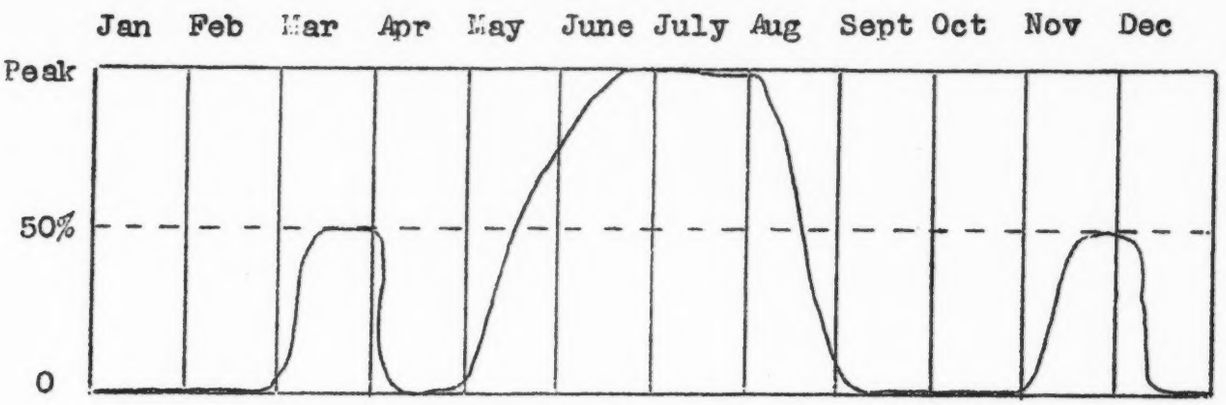
FIGURE I

FRUIT BEARING SEASONS FOR BREADFRUIT FOR 1947

Maysh*porik



Maypa



have a fishing contest for catching witer on the reef; and the men cook. Very little taro is eaten during this season. If the breadfruit crop is a good one mar will be made by many paneyneys. This supply usually lasts until November.

Breadfruit trees supply most of the lumber on Mokil. Their use for this purpose is almost as important as the food they provide. They are used for canoes, whaleboats and house timbers. There are two main types of breadfruit. One, called "maysh*porik," is seedless, the other whose fruit has seeds is called "maypa." There are three varieties of maysh*porik and three varieties of maypa. The fruit of maysh*porik is far superior to that of maypa. The wood of maysh*porik is lighter and more easily worked than maypa.

TABLE V

VARIETIES OF BREADFRUIT

	RELATIVE QUALITY* FOR			RELATIVE QUANTITY' ON		
TYPE I	canoe	house	eating	Karlap	Urak	Manton
Maysh*porik:						
maynelsho	1	6	2	2	none	1
maynur*k	3	5	3	2	1	3
maynp*tak	2	4	1	1	2	3
TYPE II						
Maypa:						
maypa	4	2	4	3	1	2
maysol	6	1	5	3	1	2
maynsi	5	3	6	3	1	2

* Number 1 is the best quality; number 6 the poorest.
' Number 1 refers to the island where the most of the variety is grown. Number 3 refers to the least.

Areas best suited for raising breadfruit are shown in Enclosures I, II and III. The best is the area around the village on Karlap; the center of Urak ranks second; and the center of Manton ranks third. All these areas are ones that no longer produce copra in commercial quantity or size, and have been replanted with breadfruit.

Fresh breadfruit is one of the few foods that is never used as payment for work. The reason given is that during the season everybody has an excess at once. If more breadfruit trees were planted this situation would not be altered, but more pit breadfruit, which keeps for an indefinite period, could be prepared than is possible with the amount of breadfruit now available to each paneyney.

The Mokilese are now planting some breadfruit in the areas where the land is worn out for the purposes of copra production. But they are not doing it in a systematic way. They are not clearing land and planting well tended orchards. Breadfruit orchards do not exist any more than do conventional gardens containing other subsistence dry land crops.

The seedless breadfruit, maysh*porik is planted by taking a two foot section of root that has begun to sprout. This is planted in a shallow hole. The small tree that develops is supported by a stick. Another method, used when the small tree has a longer root, is to cut off the root, peel about three feet of bark off the sapling and wrap the peeled section of the sapling in leaves of various kinds. The sapling is then planted in the same way. After a year the sapling will give off roots and develop into a mature tree. Some people put mok*r*k around it. Others make no attempt at fertilizing.

With maypa, the seed is planted about two feet deep. No fertilizer is used. Both types start bearing fruit in from four to seven years. They do not produce in large quantities until they are ten to fifteen years old. The life span varies from twenty to fifty years.

In general, agriculture is the business of the individual paneyney and in some cases of individuals within the paneyney. When it is believed that the activities of an individual are damaging to the productive efforts of the community direct sanctions are applied. For example, when it was found that extending the large taro pit on Karlap toward the ocean was causing salt water to seep in and threaten the whole patch a ruling was made that no one in that section should enlarge his taro pit. It is said that the cutting down of a breadfruit tree during the blossoming season will affect all the breadfruit trees in the area so that none of them will bear fruit that year. Consequently most of the logging operations take place during the months following the fruit bearing period and preceding the appearance of blossoms. These laws are agreed upon in public meeting and are enforced in the local judicial system by imposing fines on violators.

Banana

Banana is purely a subsistence food but is not of as great importance as breadfruit and taro. No prestige is attached to its cultivation and it plays only an incidental part in feasts and ceremonial occasions. All the bananas raised are non-seasonal supplying a substantial amount of food throughout the year. The cultivation of bananas is similar to that of taro in that the trees are

owned by the planter exclusively and the individual owners assume responsibility for tending and harvesting them. The fruit is always shared within the paneyney and is freely exchanged between the paneyneys. A striking feature of banana cultivation is that in spite of the fact that it is non-seasonal a planned cycle of production similar to that found in taro cultivation is not attempted. As a result there are frequent periods when a paneyney will not have bananas and other periods when they have far more than they can eat. The effect of such a condition is to encourage more exchange in this particular food than in any of the others.

An important distinction is made between eating and cooking bananas. Five varieties of each are found in Mokil.

TABLE VI

VARIETIES OF BANANAS

VARIETY	QUALITY	VARIETY	QUALITY
Eating:		Cooking:	
1. amerkoyr	3	1. luta	1
2. menila	2	2. inasho	2
3. wusenpishi	4	3. yaman	3
4. pal*	5	4. kors*nyap	4
5. fiji	1	5. taywong	5

Eating bananas which are never cooked are considered a luxury and are usually only eaten between meals. They do not play a part in the planned menus or general diet. There is considerable variation in the quality of the different varieties of both eating and cooking bananas that are grown. The most highly prized eating variety called "fiji" was introduced by August about 1937 from the Marshall Islands. At the present time only August, Jouab and a few other closely related individuals have any of these bananas. This is a curious fact since it is the unspoken law that anyone who introduces a new variety of plant must share seeds or cuttings with anyone who requests them if they are available.

Eating bananas are harvested while they are fully matured but just beginning to ripen. They are carried into the shelter of the owner's house to finish ripening. If a bunch of bananas happens to fall to the ground before it is matured it can be ripened without impairing the quality by laying it in the shade. However, if this happens they never reach their full size. It is a common practice to cut down immature bananas during a period of shortage and hasten the ripening process by a treatment

called "combwel." A hole is dug and lined with banana leaves. A bunch of bananas is laid on its side in the hole and a dozen fully ripened pandanus keys are placed among the bananas. It is said that the bananas smell the ripeness of the pandanus and respond by ripening themselves. More banana leaves are spread over the bunch; and the whole is covered with a copra bag or a coconut mat. This is then buried under about six inches of well packed dirt. The bananas are left in the ground for about three days. If they are found to be hot during this period it is certain that the ripening process is going ahead. If they are not hot, the bananas are taken up and the hole prepared a second time. My informant are applied this process to a bunch of very immature bananas that he had been given as a present. On the morning of the second day they were taken up and found to be almost fully ripe. I was told that their quality was not as good as tree ripened ones, but I personally found them very good. Bananas ripened in this way are said to last only two or three days before going bad.

Cooking bananas are also harvested while green, and are prepared for eating before they are fully ripe.

Banana leaves play an important part in the cooking of various foods. The foods that are cooked in the um, or oven, are often wrapped in green banana leaves. The leaves are also used to cover the um while food is cooking.

To grow a banana tree a small sprout from the mother plant is placed in a hole about one foot deep and one foot in diameter which is then filled with leaves and humus. No special fertilizer is placed in the hole, but it was observed that a great many leaves were thrown in those areas where bananas were grown presumably for the purpose of enriching the soil.

Most of the bananas are planted in the village and around the large taro patch on Karlap. They are also raised with success in the central parts of Manton and Urak where the coconut trees do not interfere with their growth. A banana tree will mature to the fruit bearing stage in from nine to thirteen months. Only one bunch of bananas is produced by each plant. When this is harvested the tree is cut down.

It was reported that the Ponapeans have been known to eat the stalk of the banana at a time of famine.[1] Banana stalks have never been eaten on Mokil although it

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[1] Bascom, William R., Ponape, A Pacific Economy in Transition. United States Commercial Company, Economic Survey of Micronesia, Honolulu, 1946, p. 215.

is said that the root can be made edible by baking it in an um. Roots are considered the poorest of foods, and are only eaten when all other food is gone.

Pandanus

Pandanus is one of the most prolific plants on Mokil. However, it has two drawbacks as a food: it is seasonal, and, whether true or not, the Mokilese believe that it has little value as food. It is picked at any time without consideration for the requirements of the menu; and the keys are chewed as a confection. Sometimes it is boiled and the juice used to flavor a main dish. Evidence that it is not considered important as a food is found in the freedom with which it is picked and shared throughout the community without reference to kinship ties or other criteria governing formal gift exchange.

The fruit of the pandanus grown on Mokil is somewhat similar to pineapple in outward appearance. It is approximately two feet long and one foot in diameter. The fruit is divided into individual keys growing out from the fibrous core. After breaking it open these keys are easily detached, and the edible part is extracted from the fibers by chewing and sucking on them.

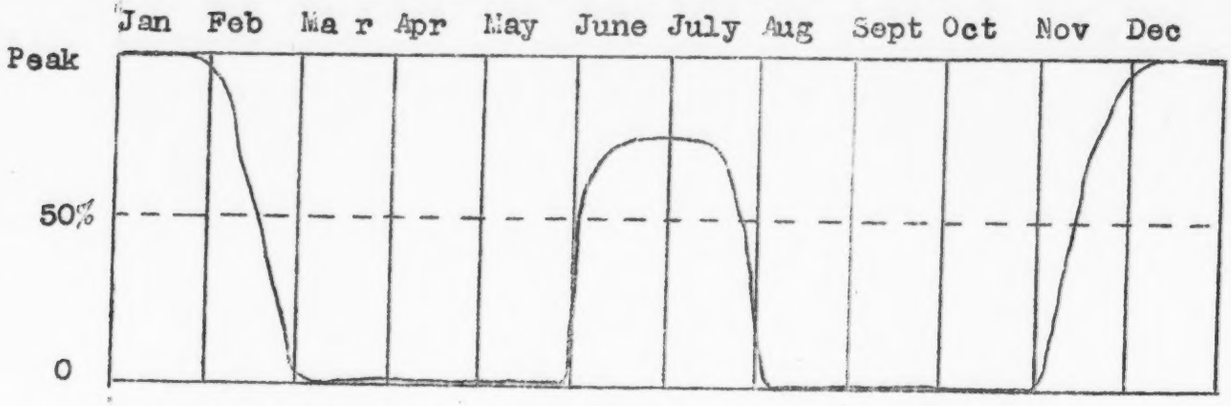
Pandanus will grow readily on any part of Mokil which is not dominated by coconut trees. As shown on Figure II, the trees bear semi-annually. The most important bearing season comes in the months of November, December and January; occasionally it extends even through February and early March. The minor season (the quantity is only about seventy-five per cent of that of the main season) occurs in June and July. A characteristic of the pandanus grown on Mokil is the variation in the time of ripening from year to year. Sometimes, the main season starts in November, but it is not uncommon for it to be delayed until the latter part of December or even January. The main harvest is more important than the minor one not only because of the greater quantity of pandanus fruit but also because there is not nearly so much breadfruit available during these months as there is in June and July. Hence, the pandanus harvest at this time yields a welcome if not important supplement to the diet.

FIGURE II

FRUIT BEARING SEASONS OF PANDANUS FOR 1947

FIGURE II

FRUIT BEARING SEASONS OF PANDANUS FOR 1947



The fruit of the pandanus is actually just a by-product of this important plant. Pandanus leaves are the source of a fiber which is used for a variety of products. Out of the twenty-three varieties of pandanus that grow on Mokil, there are only three--unmang, unpesh and ashipi*n--that do not bear fruit, but these three in the order named are the most highly prized for the excellent quality of the fiber made from their leaves. It is used for making containers, mats, hats, thatched roofs and other articles made both for everyday use and for sale. With the exception of unmang there is an adequate supply of pandanus for all these purposes. For this reason the leaves are freely exchanged.

TABLE VII

VARIETIES OF PANDANUS

VARIETY	QUALITY*	ORIGIN	WHEN INTRODUCED (circa)
fruit and handicraft: for handicraft:			
shibwērik	3	Mokil	
sh*wāypwep	5	Marshalls	pre-Spanish
insōt	7	Mokil	
pwenpwel	7	Mokil	
t*bōtin	7	Marshalls	pre-Spanish
erowen pen pashut	5	Mokil	
luarr*mwe	5	Marshalls	pre-Spanish
mekilikil	5	Mokil	
shalīshi	7	Marshalls	1915
k*bwītch	7	Marshalls	1915
shen*menne*'	5	Mokil	
top	6	Mokil	
k*bayrinbit	7	Gilbert	German period
arowen	5	Mokil (wild)	
merusik	7	Mokil	
mang*run	7	Marshalls	1920
shāminsh*n	8	Marshalls	German period

TABLE VII (continued)

VARIETIES OF PANDANUS

VARIETY	QUALITY*	ORIGIN	WHEN INTRODUCED (circa)
fruit and handicraft:	for handicraft:		
nankat*k	5	Mokil	
silau	8	Pingelap	
is*k	8	Mokil	
handicraft only:			
unmang	1	Marshalls	German period
unpesh	4	Mokil (wild)	
ashipi*n	8	Marshalls	German period

* The best quality is number 1. The poorest is number 8.

Out of the twenty-three varieties of pandanus common to Mokil twelve are known to have been introduced from other islands. Nine of the twelve were brought over from the Marshall Islands. This is just one of the many indications of contact between the Marshalls and Mokil.

There is one variety of pandanus that is far superior to all the others, and is used for making the finest mats and hats. But the supply of this variety, unmang, is never equal to the demands. Unmang is the variety most used for the handicraft that is to be sold, for this must be of the best quality to meet the standards of the Island Trading Company.

The use of unmang is controlled by some paneyneys although in a much more informal way than the use of taro. In paneyney twenty-seven[1] much disturbance was caused when Karolina, the wife of the next to youngest brother Josep, gathered some unmang without asking permission from Erin, the acting head. Karolina had never questioned her right to gather pandanus freely from paneyney land while he, on the other hand, insisted upon controlling the supply. Actually the trouble had little to do with the sharing of materials among the junior members of the paneyney. Erin as the favorite son of Opet expects to inherit most of the paneyney lands in spite of the fact that Opet has publicly promised certain sections of his holdings to the other brothers. This incident provided a good opportunity for Erin to throw his weight around as acting head of the paneyney and to impress the junior members with his authority.

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[1] See detailed account in chapter on cooperation.

In most paneyneys the members divide the supply according to which one has the time and inclination for making handicraft for sale.

Some varieties of pandanus grow wild on Mokil requiring neither planting nor cultivating. However, those varieties which produce the best fiber must be planted. In preparation for planting pandanus leaves are cut from a branch of a mature tree. In about eight months to a year the pruned branch grows a large number of small branches. These are pulled off and planted in a hole about six inches to one foot deep. No fertilizer is used. A tree planted in this manner will grow to a large size and is usually a good producer of fruit. The tree will begin to bear within two or three years.

Another method of planting is used for unpesh. The entire branch is cut off and placed in a hole four feet deep and two feet in diameter. No fertilizer is used. A good tree of the fruit bearing variety will bear as many as twenty bunches of fruit in one year. Poorer ones will only produce one or two pandanus fruits annually.

Arrowroot

Arrowroot (Tacca Leontopetaloiaes), known locally as "m*kim*k," is a common plant on Mokil. It grows readily everywhere that the coconut trees will permit. The flour made from arrowroot is well liked and has to its advantage that, once prepared and dried, it will keep for many weeks. However, it is not important to the subsistence of the people because the quantity of food that it yields is relatively small. Except for arrowroot pancakes, made by mixing the flour with coconut milk and frying in a pan, it is usually used in dishes the main ingredient of which is one of the more important foods such as banana, taro or breadfruit.

Arrowroot requires little cultivation. The usual method of planting is to burn over the area in which it is to be grown and to scatter the seeds at random over the area. The mature plant has a long, slender, hollow stalk, at the top of which grows a round seed pod. The children have learned to make whistles from the stalk resembling our penny whistles. It is a common sight to see the children walking along the path blowing shrill and outlandish tunes on the stalk of the m*kim*k.

The edible part of arrowroot is a tuber that matures in a few months and is similar in appearance to a white potato. Those raised on Mokil are only three or four inches long and two inches in diameter. The people make no systematic effort to raise it. If there are only a few plants growing on their paneyney land they will disregard them because the yield is small and the preparation long and tedious.

full of water, the particles of arrowroot that have gone through the cloth are allowed to settle to the bottom of the bucket. The water is then carefully poured out of the bucket leaving fine flour at the bottom. This process is repeated several times. A thick mealy sediment of extremely fine texture remains in the bottom of the bucket. This is placed in a cotton bag and hung up to drain and dry over night. The resulting product is a cake that may be broken up easily into a fine flour.

Papaya

Papaya occurs on Mokil, but is of little importance. It is never deliberately cultivated. The papaya trees that grow in and around the village are relatively safe from the depredations of the birds, but not from the children who raid them regularly as soon as the fruit begins to ripen. Although the adults enjoy an occasional papaya as a snack during the day no one seems to care how soon the fruit disappears. The fruit of those trees that cannot be closely watched is soon destroyed by the birds. The green fruit is used to bleach coconut fiber for fine weaving. This is done by cutting it up and boiling it with the fiber.

Pumpkins and Squash

Pumpkins or squash grow readily, but is not an important food in spite of the fact that it has seen the Mokilese through one devastating famine and could if cultivated readily become an integral part of their diet.

DOMESTIC ANIMALS

Chickens

The only domestic animals raised on Mokil are chickens, pigs and dogs. Chickens are raised on Marap, and are allowed to run free through the village. There are only a few paneyneys which have been able to get chicken wire to build coops and runs. Because there are not many of them, chickens are primarily a ceremonial food. When one is wanted for the pot the children of the paneyney are sent to run it down. Every family is able to identify its own chickens even though they all look alike and intermingle constantly. Before the prey is captured usually half the children in the village become involved in the chase. There is a great deal of hilarious shouting while this is going on among not only the racing children but also the adults who may be watching.

Pigs

In September, 1947, there were 122 pigs on Mokil. During the war the Japanese had appropriated most of the pigs. The number is now increasing but there are still too few to play a significant part in subsistence although pork is highly relished. Fat pork is preferred. When the people speak of the excellence of a piece of meat it is always in terms of "lots of grease." No ceremony or public occasion celebrated by a feast would be complete without one or more pigs being killed for it. When someone dies, only pork, taro and green coconuts are served in the funeral kamatip (feast). People say that these three are the traditional foods going back to aboriginal times. On several occasions pigs have been killed at times other than kamatips. In each case that I observed, before a pig was slaughtered arrangements had been made to sell some of the meat to other paneyneys. A few pieces were also given as gifts to the nearest of kin.

In former times all of Mokil was given over to the raising of pigs. Now they are all kept on their owners' paneyney land on Karlap. They are not allowed to roam at will for fear of injuring the crops and dirtying the village. Although some paneyneys still have no pigs, nevertheless most of them have built corrals surrounded by deep ditches for present or future use.

Dogs

Dogs are kept both for food and for pets. The Mokilese have learned that white men do not eat dogs and do not approve of the practice. Hence, although they still occasionally eat them they are shamefaced about it. Altogether the people have mixed feelings about dogs. A controversy has been raging for over a year as to whether or not to kill all the dogs. The leading arguments for getting rid of them are that they occasionally bite people; they dirty up the island; they kill chickens and eat eggs. Everyone agrees that chickens are much more valuable than dogs. On the other side of the argument are the professions of all dog owners that they love their dogs.

In the early part of my stay on Mokil I was bitten by a dog. The incident soon became a matter of public concern. Jojten, the owner, accompanied by the local policeman and the King came to me as a committee and asked me what I wanted done. They said that I could make the owner pay fifty dollars damages which I am sure was far more than he possessed.[1] I assured them that I was

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[1] I found out later that the high fine was due to the fact that I was a white man.

not interested in Jojten's paying this penalty, but that I did feel that the dog was dangerous to a community in which there were so many young children running about. Within an hour the dog was brought before my house and garrotted. That night we observed that Jojten, our interpreter from Ngatik and others ate the dog as a special feast. During the following months the dog population decreased noticeably.

At the next public meeting this incident was used to give weight to the argument against dogs. The dog controversy takes up much of the time at many public meetings and frequently becomes quite amusing. There is considerable informal discussion about how many dogs this or that person owns, and whose dogs eat whose chickens. As can be imagined the dog population fluctuates. When it is at its peak, sentiment runs high against them, and a date is set after which they will all be banned. As this deadline approaches, dogs become scarce and feeling dies down. Since for some reason only male dogs are generally killed the problem rapidly becomes critical again. However, King August says, and it can well be believed that if anyone's dog killed a child, that person with his whole family would be forced to leave the island and take up residence elsewhere.

FISHING

Agriculture is certainly the main basis of livelihood, but it is not this for which the Mokilese are famous. Throughout the East Carolines they are recognized as the finest canoe builders, sailors and fishermen in the area. The Mokilese' adaptation to the sea is much greater than that of the people on neighboring volcanic islands such as Ponape and Kusaie. On the latter nearly all fishing is limited to the inside of the reef and is done by women. On Ponape men as well as women fish, but it is seldom that a Ponapean will venture out into the open sea. The Ponapean canoes carry more sail than the Mokilese, which makes it possible for them to sail faster with the wind; but in the long run their canoes are neither as fast nor as seaworthy as those of the Mokilese.

Literally from the time they can walk the Mokilese are as much at home in water as on land. Around the age of five most of the boys begin to play with toy canoes. By the time they are eight or nine they have learned the principles of the sailing canoe from models equipped with rigging and sails that they race in the lagoon and on the reef. By the time they are twelve, boys go bonito fishing in the open sea with their fathers. One morning I saw two boys of thirteen or fourteen years in a small sailing canoe about two thirds the size of the men's canoes sailing in the open sea in a heavy wind. The waves were ten or twelve feet high, yet the boys seemed to be completely

unafraid and carried out the trolling activities with an efficiency which matched that of the men.

The Moxilese feel that the one thing they really understand is fishing. The price they took in their fishing ability was evident in the public indignation engendered by the purchase of some canned salmon with community funds by the storekeeper Jonoton. Since the store had limited capital the purchase of salmon meant that some of the cloth, dyes, fish hooks, etc., that were brought on the trade ship could not be bought for the store. As the result of this poor judgment Jonoton was not allowed to make future purchases for the store.

Women's Fishing

Most of the fishing is done by the men and is considered their responsibility. Only rarely is a woman taken on a fishing expedition out beyond the reef. When it happens the woman is usually a young wife without children who is taken by her husband. There is one type of fishing, however, that is almost entirely done by women. This is fishing on the reef for witer in water about four feet deep with hook and line and a short pole. The witer has a peculiar characteristic of lying quietly on a piece of coral or sand without making the slightest movement until he sees the bait. Then he pounces like a cat. When the women wearing goggles spot the witer a hook baited with pieces of smaller fish is dangled in front of its nose. The witer looks like the common bullhead and seldom exceeds six or seven inches in length.

The old women with plenty of leisure do most of the women's fishing and are the best witer fishermen. It is difficult for a younger woman to take part in the fishing because of the many duties involved in maintaining a household with children. Fish caught by women supply only a negligible part of the need.

Fishing falls into three categories: fishing in the lagoon, fishing on the reef and fishing out in the ocean. Fish caught on the reef or in the lagoon are in general not considered of as good quality as fish caught outside. Fishing in the lagoon is not men's fishing, but is usually done by boys either with hook and line or with spears, in spite of the fact that a good catch can be made there at almost any time with little effort.

Although there are enough fish caught throughout the year to supply the needs of the people there is some seasonal variation in the quantity and kinds available out beyond the reef. The two best periods for catching fish in the open sea are at the time of the trade winds from the latter part of December through March and during the months of relative calm, June, July and August.

Bonito

During the trade winds, the fish will start to bite at any time of day. I have seen canoes come in around noon after fishing all morning without success, while those canoes that stayed out through the afternoon brought home good catches. Fish caught in this season are ocean bonito, tuna, barracuda and aul, the largest part of the catch being bonito. These fish will only take a fast moving bait; consequently trolling can only be done in a high wind.

Before the trade winds begin men usually go trolling for these fish just before daybreak if there is sufficient wind.[1] As soon as the trade winds get under way it is agreed each year in public meeting that no fishing will be allowed outside the reef before daybreak or after nightfall, for the people believe that anyone who goes fishing before it is light will frighten the bonito and ruin the fishing for the day. This ruling is always enforced by fines.

Trolling for ocean bonito is hard work, and the results are always uncertain. On some occasions I have seen as many as twenty or thirty canoes sailing at full speed in heavy waves most of the day without bringing in more than one or two bonito altogether. If fishing is good, on the other hand, a single canoe may bring in as many as twenty bonito.

For bonito fishing each canoe is manned by two men. One sits in the stern and controls the speed and direction of the craft. The second man stands on the outrigger holding the sheet in one hand and a heavy hand line in the other. They use from 150 to 200 feet of line to which is attached about six feet of heavy wire leader and a feathered lure. The lure is dragged through the water just below the surface in a jerking motion. The seas are so heavy that the man in the stern spends a good part of the time bailing, and both men are soaked by the spray from the fast moving craft. Watched from the shore, the canoes often go completely out of sight in the trough of the waves.

When a fish is hooked the man on the outrigger immediately lets go of the sheet to stop forward motion of the canoe and begins to pull in the hand line with the

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[1] The people say that bonito frequent the waters around Mokil all year but that they cannot be caught in any quantity except in January, February and March because there is not enough wind for fast trolling. Be that as it may, I observed that at other times of the year, even on those days when there was a high wind catches of these fish were small.

utmost speed. There is a good reason for this speed as I learned in my first experience in fishing for bonito. One morning about four o'clock before the trade wind season I set out with Are and his son Aaru. In total darkness we stepped the mast in Are's canoe, put the rigging in place and hoisted the sail. We sailed across the lagoon to the southern tip of Manton. The tide was low so that the canoe had to be dragged a quarter of a mile across the reef along the narrow winding pass that had been cleared. Are and Aaru made their way easily through this pass in the pitch black with an uncanny sense of direction leaving me floundering far behind.

When we reached the outer edge of the reef they had me get into the canoe. At an opportune moment they gave the canoe a mighty shove that sent it flying through the surf, then sculled as hard as they could to get out beyond the surf before another wave broke on the reef. Sails were again hoisted and the fishing began without delay. I squatted on the outrigger holding onto the mast with one hand and the trolling line with the other. There was no strike for about half an hour. Just as day was beginning to break Are leaned over to me and said, "now they bite." Not more than two minutes later I felt a mighty pull on the line and it was only with great effort that I maintained my balance. I tried to pull the fish in, but found it slow business and the fish extraordinarily heavy. Are shouted, "m*kit*, m*kit*"; and Aaru jumped up beside me and began to pull on the line like a madman.

We had pulled in about half the line when Are shouted, "no good pako." Just as he spoke I saw a pack of four or five sharks break the water nearby. The water red with blood was churned into a froth by the fighting sharks. Suddenly the pressure on the line relaxed and we pulled it in. All that was left of the bonito was the head. The body had been cut off as though severed with a coarse saw. Muttering all the time, Are quickly pulled the head of the bonito into the canoe and got the canoe under way. In a few minutes we were again trolling at top speed.

There was another strike at once. I pulled with all my strength against what felt like a dead weight. Suddenly the fish came to life and almost pulled me overboard. Aaru jumped into the outrigger to help me. Then we heard Are's voice again saying, "no good pako," but the line was heavier than ever. When we had pulled it in there was an eight foot shark with its belly enormously distended. He had swallowed the bonito, hook and all. Are picked up a paddle and stuck it down the shark's throat. Aaru, cursing quietly in Marilese, hit the shark on the head with a machete. All this made little if any impression on the shark. Finally Aaru reached over with the machete and tried to cut the hook our of the shark's mouth. Whenever the shark thrashed, the paddle was jerked out of Are's hand

and swung wildly back and forth until Are could catch it again. Every time he got hold of it and tried to hold the shark steady Anru worked away with the machete. After about fifteen minutes the hook was finally cut loose and the paddle pulled out. The shark swam slowly away. We started fishing again as soon as we could but it was too late in the day. Only a small ocean runner was caught that day. By seven o'clock our canoe and the others which had been out turned homeward.

Sail Fish and Marlin

Two of the most prized fish are the Pacific sail fish and the marlin sword fish, but these fish are too rare to be sought out. They are always caught by a lucky accident while fishing for bonito, since they will strike at a trolled feather gig or flying fish. Whenever a sail fish or sword fish is caught the successful fisherman is expected to distribute the fish through the village according to his kinship obligations, following the same procedure used for distributing the first large fish caught in a new canoe. Not a single marlin and only two sail fish were caught in the entire ten months I was in Moxil. I was told, however, that a number of marlin had been caught in the past. They are considered very ferocious; a man is brave who will play the marlin until he is landed. The fishermen tell stories of marlin attacking canoes after they have been hooked and even jumping through the sails. They say that the marlin tries to kill the fisherman.

Flying Fish

Another popular form of fishing done during the trade wind season is catching flying fish at night using torches. At sundown in the dark of the moon it is common to see ten or twenty canoes heading for the outside of the reef at Manton. Some of the men make their torches during the day but most make them on the west side of Manton in the gathering dusk while they are waiting for full dark. For the torches a large number of coconut fronds are gathered and strips of fiber cut from the underside. Several fronds are wrapped together and secured by these strips of fiber. Onto this base more fronds are added at the top and secured. The process is repeated until the torch is ten or twelve feet high. Each canoe carries a supply of three or four torches. While the torch tying is going on, one or two fires may be built along the beach around which the men will lie and talk while they are waiting for it to get dark enough to start fishing.

When it is completely dark everybody pulls his canoe across the reef to the open sea. Those who reach the deep water first stand by to wait for stragglers. As soon as all the canoes are assembled they form a semi-circle whose ends point toward the reef, thereby roughly enclosing a

body of water. Before the canoes get into position the torches are lighted, but the ends are still tied so that the fire merely smolders. The signal for untying the torches is given by the number one canoe (the southernmost canoe, nearest Arak, which had the furthest to travel) which always light up first. A shout rises from this canoe, and a man in each canoe cuts the fiber at the end of the torch so that it flares up.

One man stands in the center of the canoe holding the torch. In some canoes there are two additional men to handle nets; others may carry only one man with a net. The net used is a shallow dip net with a ten foot handle. When the torches flare each net man stands tense and alert holding the net in readiness for the fast flying fish. For a brief interval everything is quiet and the water looks black and empty in the glare. In the distance the waves break in silvery lines against the reef. This is always a moment of uncertainty, for there is no way of knowing whether or not there are any fish in the area. All of a sudden silvery forms begin to appear low above the water, at first singly, then in twos and threes. If it happens to be a good night for flying fish the air will become filled with fish skittering over the water and flying several feet high.

Excitement increases as the fish stream toward the torches.[1] Shouting and laughing, the men swiftly and deftly swing their nets. Some fish are caught in midair, but for the most part they are dipped off the surface of the water where they may lie for a moment or so, confused and dazzled by the brilliant light. Many of the men are extremely skilled in intercepting the fish in the air and in giving the net the right twist to scoop them out of the water. One of the favorite techniques is to bring the net rapidly down on the fish as if swatting a fly and, just as the net touches the water, to give it a quick twist so that the fish is popped into the net. As part of the same motion the net containing the fish is rapidly twirled as it is swung toward the canoe to prevent the fish from escaping.

A single drive may last from five to ten minutes, during which time most of the canoes get out of position, collide, and in some cases become entangled in one another's outriggers, thus interfering with the fishing of still others. There are always some canoes that get in the lee; and since each torch throws off a continuous stream of sparks, these unfortunates are kept busy dashing hot sparks out of their hair. Because of the sparks few men go flying fishing without their shirts.

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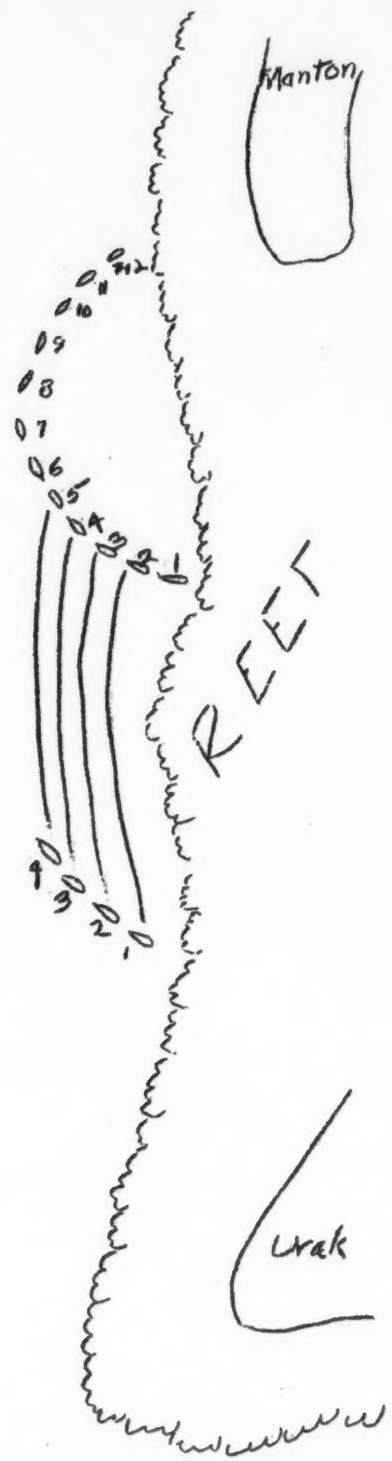
[1] As part of the documentary movie filmed on Mokil, footage was shot of the torch fishing at night. For this purpose a generator and four number two photofloods were used. The lights proved to be effective not only for photography but also for attracting fish. The whaleboat used to carry the generator and photofloods also carried men with nets who succeeded in catching over one thousand fish.

FIGURE III

Positions of Canoes in Flying Fishing



The bedlam reaches a peak, then after five or ten minutes the fish begin to decrease in numbers until eventually they disappear. The men shout back and forth, "let's go," and one by one the torches are lowered and splashed with water until they are again merely a mass of embers. The line of canoes moves southward along the reef, number one canoe remaining in the same place to become the last. Number two canoe moves the furthest south toward Urak to become the new number one, etc. As they move to their new positions everyone paddles furiously, as if it were a race against time. Eight or nine drives may be made in an evening depending upon the number of torches and the length of time they burn. Most flying fishing is done between eight and ten o'clock at night. It is not uncommon for a single canoe to return home with more than one hundred fish.

There are two varieties of flying fish recognized on Mokil, which are similar in appearance but of different sizes. The larger which runs to about twelve inches is more highly prized. The smaller fish is eight to ten inches long, much lighter in weight and is not considered worth much. There are more of the larger variety. The flying fish around Mokil are fat and, for that reason, are considered one of the finest eating fish obtainable. The people learned from the Japanese to preserve flying fish by salting, drying and smoking.

Most flying fishing is done by the younger men as it demands a great deal of hard work, a quick eye and good coordination. It is probably the most popular sport on Mokil outside of canoe racing. In a good year some flying fish may be caught in the daytime but not in large quantities. The daytime method is to take a light line and a very small hook baited with a section of a small fish. The bait is trolled very slowly

behind a canoe without sail which is allowed to drift with the wind. When a flying fish is hooked it will take off and will have to be played in the air as well as in the water, much to the amusement of the Mokilese.

By the first of April the trade winds begin to die down and trolling for ocean bonito falls off. As soon as it was apparent that the bonito fishing was finished for 1948 it was agreed in public meeting that the ruling against fishing before sunrise should be lifted. The morning following the decision almost everyone in the village was out in canoes long before sunrise. Some left at two and three in the morning while others made a night of it, beginning by fishing for flying fish in the evening and ending up either trolling for bonito before sunrise or still fishing (called "op*p") at great depths for large bonito. (Flying fish is one of the favorite baits for bonito and can be used for either trolling or still fishing, so flying fish caught in the early evening can serve as bait for the other fishing carried on later.) Still fishing for bonito continued into the next day but trolling was given up soon after sunrise.

Bait fish: apil, shap*s, ikonit

With the end of the ocean bonito fishing, attention turns to smaller fish. Still fishing is done outside the reef for various types of the crevally family. The Mokilese still fish with bait and sometimes troll with a fly. Large catches can be expected when there are runs of bait fish. There are three varieties of small fish that are thought of primarily as bait fish, apil, shap*s and Ikonit. Of these three apil is by far the most common.

Apil is a small brown fish between three and four inches long. Large runs of apil may occur at any time of the year and a few can always be caught in the lagoon to be used for bait. Apil also are caught for food if there is a particularly heavy run. One of the most effective methods of catching them is with a drag of dry coconut fronds one hundred or more feet long. The men go along the lagoon shore of Aarlap until a large school of apil is spotted, then five to ten men pulling the drag very quietly encircle the fish and pull the ends of the drag into the shore, trapping the fish and bringing them up onto the beach.

A common method used when apil are scarcer involves the use of a crescent shaped net about eight feet long. Several men and boys that may happen to be around quietly wander along the docks in front of the village looking for apil close in to shore. They must be careful that the fish do not see them. When a school is sighted one man with the net crouches down at the edge of a dock and makes ready to jump into the shallow water, and get his net into

position on the bottom. In the meantime the others have gathered several chunks of coral rock and have distributed themselves so that at a signal they can quickly jump into the water, surround the fish and throw rocks out into the deep water to discourage the fish from trying to escape. Unless the fish are unusually plentiful only four or five at a time are caught with this technique.

Apil is the most common type of bait used in many kinds of still fishing with hook and line. When the women are fishing for witer on the reef they usually carry small coconut frond baskets over their shoulder in which is kept a supply of apil for bait. As they fish they will reach in with their free hand, take out an apil, bite off a small chunk which they put on the hook and eat the remainder. People always prefer to take more bait than they actually need for fishing so that they can have some for lunch.

The shap*s is a brown fish about one inch long. Runs of shap*s can generally be expected in February, March and April. They are seldom used as bait themselves and are never eaten. Their importance lies in their attracting larger fish close in to the reef. Shap*s travel in large numbers, and during the run many larger fish congregate in the area of the run. Schools of shap*s are looked for off the reef between Manton and Urak, and when they are sighted, word of their appearance is sent through the village. Large catches can be made by trolling feather lures made of a few long white feathers tied onto a size two to four hook with some red and blue yarn at the head of the hook.[1]

In June, a third bait fish ikonit begins to appear. About the size of apil, it has a bright blue stripe along each side. Ikonit, like shap*s, are important because they attract larger fish. While shap*s and ikonit are around, a ruling is made prohibiting spear fishing outside the reef for fear of frightening the fish away. This ban lasts from two to five days.

Kepwini, arong, at*m

Irrespective of whether or not these bait fish appear, fishing for crevally type fish, kepwini, arong and at*m, improves from April till it reaches its peak in June or July. The best time for this fishing is between daybreak and sunrise. Those people who troll with lures generally spend

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[1] One of the biggest problems in this type of fishing is the appearance of sharks which not only steal many of the fish after they are hooked, but in a short time scare them all away. In the old days some of the men knew incantations that caused the sharks to leave. It is said that Mwenshabo and Okitau were particularly skilful in the use of these incantations. Since this art has been lost the practice is to catch a shark, tie a coconut frond to its tail and turn it loose. This frightens the other sharks away.

an hour or two before sunrise trolling for at*m. Just as it begins to get light the large fly used for at*m is changed for a smaller one and everyone starts fishing for arong. (Other than the size of the fly exactly the same technique is used to catch the two fish.) For twenty to thirty minutes it is quite probable that one man will catch eight or ten arong weighing from two to five pounds a piece. Trolling for arong is done in a small area along the edge of the reef, and often as many as twenty or thirty canoes will go back and forth along the same part of the reef with many fish being caught at the same time.

Kepwini is never taken with this technique. It can be caught, however, by still fishing outside the reef using pieces of flying fish or apil for bait. The people consider kepwini the best fish around Mokil since they are even fatter than bonito or flying fish.

Until July most of the still fishing is done off-shore from Manton. But in July and August when the wind is at a minimum, fishing becomes good off the northeast end of Karlap. Here the kepwini and arong are large and plentiful and easy to catch. This is considered the best fishing of all, and it is at this season that the joint fishing and breadfruit festival is held. Still fishing for kepwini off the northeast end of Karlap may continue into September.

Also during June, July and August when there is little wind to disturb the water, and visibility is good for spotting fish another kind of fishing takes place on the reef. At low tide, men with spears take up positions near the lagoon side of the pass that runs across the reef Fayn*.[1] All the rocks in the pass have been cleared out and piled along its sides forming a sort of canal. As the tide comes in the fish go along this pass on their way to the lagoon. As soon as the fish are sighted the men chase them to the shallow water and spear them by throwing the spears. This technique is called "Keshel." It is the only type of spear fishing in which the spear is actually thrown through the air. Women catch fish in the same fashion except that they do not throw the spear.

Night Fishing: redfish, parrot fish

The preponderance of fishing throughout the year takes place at night. Most night fishing is done on moonlight nights by slowly trolling white flies along the outside edge of the reef Fayn*. Paddling canoes are used with one man in each canoe. Although some at*m are caught this way most of the night fishing is done for redfish. Redfish are not more than six or seven inches long but they are tasty and plentiful. They can also be caught on moonlight nights when the tide is low by fishing with bait off the edge of the reef. On such a night half the village may be out on the reef. Some fish off the edge using a long

[1] The reef extending between Manton and Urak.

bamboo pole with a white fly attached to the line. Others look for little holes and crevices in the coral where fish might be lurking, and into these nooks they drop a short line attached to a small pole. Another method is to dive along the edge of the reef using as a pole a steel rod about four feet long to the end of which is attached a foot of wire leader and a hook. As the fisherman swims along the edge of the reef he looks for a redfish in a crevice, then pushes the bait right up to the nose of the fish. This is a hard way to catch redfish but it gets results.

Occasionally torch fishing is done for parrot fish and other varieties found near the reef. Coconut torches much smaller than those used for flying fishing are used for this reef fishing called "kapwil." This takes place at low tide at the dark of the moon. Two to five men may take part. One man carries a torch and a knife and does most of the fishing. Another man carries a spear for those fish that are too deep for a knife thrust. If there are as many as five men, the other three carry extra torches and baskets and rotate duties. The Mokilese say that the reef fish fall asleep at night and if the water is calm they can be easily seen lying near the surface. The fish are killed by a blow to the head with a knife or machete. It is so seldom, however, that conditions are right for this sort of fishing that it is unimportant to the total economy.

Use of Net

September, October, November and part of December are considered the poorest time for fishing. During these months, people pull everything out of their bag of tricks. One of the common ways of catching reef fish is with the crescent shaped net. This is done by large groups usually on Saturdays.[1] The net is stretched across the seaward end of one of the passes across the reef and the bottom is weighted down with rocks. A man is stationed at each end of the net to keep it in place while many men and children circle over the reef driving the fish into the net. The most effective time for this type of fishing is on the outgoing tide.

Parrot fish are caught in this way and if fish are particularly scarce the crescent shaped net is used for needle fish. Needle fish are always plentiful but are only taken when nothing else is available. The Mokilese say that they have too many bones, and also that they keep the needle fish for their reserve. At high tide large schools

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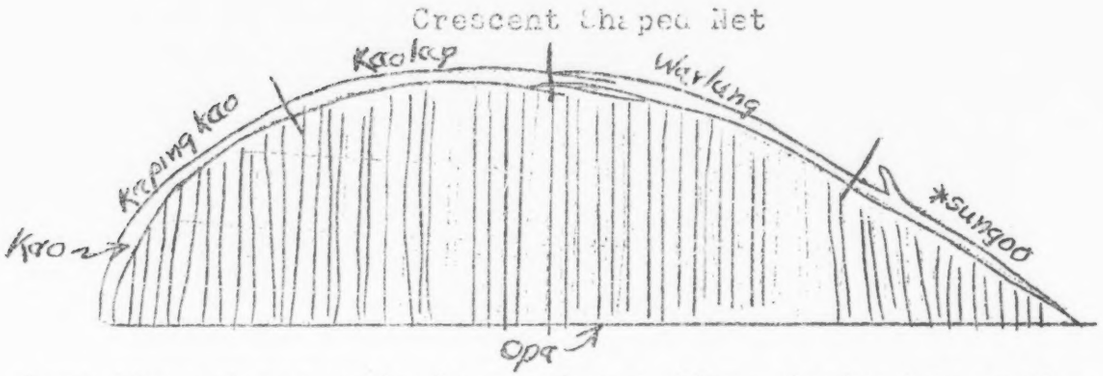
[1] Because no work is done on Sundays the fish must be caught and prepared the day before.

of needle fish come up on the reef, and the net is placed at some convenient point anywhere along the reef, not necessarily in a pass or near the edge.

The use of the crescent shaped net called "nek," for reef fishing has come down from aboriginal times. In the old days the nets were much larger, about thirty feet long. The frame of the net is made of a long curved pole called "kao." A line called "op*" is stretched from the two bowed ends of the kao. The kao is divided into four sections each with its own name. In the old

FIGURE IV

Crescent Shaped Net



days the net was made from a local fiber derived from the bark of a small tree known as "orromo." The bark was skinned off with a loop of coconut fiber, dried in the sun for two hours and in the shade for one hour. It was then broken up with the fingers and the fiber extracted. The net was attached to the kao by a line made of fiber called "pot*k." This technique has been abandoned since manufactured nets and lines for making nets can now be bought. Conventional netting needles are used here as elsewhere. There are still a few large nets on Mokil, but they are all made of modern netting and are only half the size of the old ones, about fifteen feet long. These large nets belong to the whole community.

In the old days when the competition was keen between the two districts Payti and Patak, each district had its own nek which was only used by the people in that district.[1] One of the big events was competitive net fishing called "tutunek" at the season of the ripening of the breadfruit. In recent years tutunek has been held with two groups of men representing the two divisions. Several nets are used and the fishing is done from six in the morning to noon on on a set day. As soon as all the men have returned the fish are counted and whichever side has caught the most celebrates

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[1] The Payti and Patak has been described in detail in Dr. Peckler's report, LAND AND LIVELIHOOD IN MOKIL, Part I, (ms), pp. 46-47. Payti included Manton and the northwest end of Karlap from the deep bend northward. Patak was comprised of the rest of Karlap and Urak. This territorial and political division has now lost most of its significance.

by singing to the losers. Fishermen and canoes are covered with iit blossoms and perfumed oil. The last tutunek was held in 1945.

Use of Spear

Spear fishing with the long spear has a history going back to early times. One type of long spear has a handle of coconut and a tip of barbed steel. Another popular long spear is one made of coconut wood with a harpoon attached to the end of it. Attached to the harpoon is a piece of line that runs up along the handle of the spear and is tied to the handle. Goggles have been used in conjunction with spear fishing since 1911 when a Mokilese man who had seen a Yap man using goggles in Nauru introduced them to Mokil.

The short spear with a rubber band attached is said to have been introduced from Ponape in October, 1946. When we arrived not quite a year later almost every child on the island had a spear of this type, and the men also used them to spear small fish on the reef at low tide. Early in 1948 it was decided in public meeting that the children were killing too many of the small fish and would eventually reduce the supply of large fish which are drawn by these smaller fish. This spear was therefore banned from further use.

One day I was watching Lanka of Kilenten's paneyney (number twenty-three) spearing fish off the reef near the western end of Urak. The shelf of the reef at this point is about twenty to thirty feet deep. Lanka first swam on the surface following the edge of the reef. He held his head under water watching through his goggles for fish swimming along the edge of the drop-off. There he crouched and peered over the edge as though he were crouched on dry land looking over a precipice. He waited with his feet hooked into the coral. When the fish came within range he plunged the spear at it. His aim being accurate and the fish large he released the spear and rose to the surface. The fish was played by the line attached to the floating wooden cylinder. This is one of the many difficult ways of catching fish and is thought of as hard work.

The Mokilese are great underwater swimmers. They can stay under water for several minutes and can dive to great depths. The men are proud of their ability to dive deep and gain respect and prestige for superiority in this ability. Spear fishing under water is done by men up until their late fifties when they can no longer compete with the younger men. But by that age their reputation is established and unassailable. Even in their old age they continue to be spoken of with respect for their vanished prowess.

On my first visit to Mokil before we settled there for this study I was taken on a fishing expedition by Enterik of Kiliten's paneyney (number twenty-eight). I

later found out that he was one of the best divers on the island. He was equipped on this trip with a fifteen foot spear, and around his waist was wrapped a short piece of heavy line to which was attached a steel leader and a large hook. We walked out on the reef at the north end of Karlap where, although it was a calm day, a heavy surf was breaking. Enterik told me to plunge into the surf when he did and I would be all right. He seemed to wait for a lull in the surf, then quickly plunged into the sea. I hesitated just a moment but it was long enough for me to be flung over and get scratched severely by the coral. I finally reached the open water beyond the surf and followed Enterik some 250 feet out on the shelf of the reef where the water was about twenty feet deep. Enterik dove down to the bottom, and in a matter of a few seconds had speared a small fish. After he returned to the surface he gave me the spear and unwrapped the line from around his middle. He put the live fish on the hook, and we swam out another fifty feet where the water was about thirty feet deep. Enterik dove to the bottom and tied the end of the line to a piece of coral. He swam back seventy-five to a hundred feet and lay on the surface bobbing up and down on the waves. We watched the bait through our goggles. About ten minutes later a fish that must have weighed six pounds took the bait and hooked itself. Enterik immediately dove down, undid the other end of the line from the coral and after a short struggle pulled the fish to the surface. Then he called for his spear which he plunged several times through the head of the fish. By this time I was exhausted, and it was only with difficulty that I made my way back to the reef. Enterik was obviously not the least tired and continued fishing for several hours after I left him.

Use of Poison

Fishing is also done individually in other ways. The people of Mokil are familiar with the use of fish poison in Ponape, and have adopted a modification of the Ponapean technique. Since there are no poisonous plants adapted to this purpose on Mokil a substitute is made of the sea slug. At very low tide men and women equipped with goggles go out on the reef Fayn* and search for fish left in the small pools in the coral. When one sees a fish dart under a piece of coral he peers into the hiding place and tries to impale the fish on a short spear. If he cannot reach the fish with his spear he will push about four sea slugs on the end of the spear causing them to exude a blood-like fluid which, according to the Mokilese, prevents the fish from breathing. The spear is then stuck into the place where the fish is hiding. Two such treatments are usually enough to stun or kill the fish. Occasionally fish will try to escape to clear water, thus enabling them to be caught. This type of fishing involves a lot of work as a man may spend fifteen or twenty minutes breaking up coral formations with large rocks so that he can get at the hiding

fish. One of the easiest fish to catch this way is nitoy. Nitoy can change color as a means of camouflage, however, if it is spotted it can easily be speared because it stays in one place.[1]

Conger eel

It is also a common practice in reef fishing to reach into a hole where a fish is believed to be hiding and try to catch it with the hands. There is a certain amount of danger involved because conger eels often hide in holes in the reef. If a man should have the misfortune to put his hand in a hole where a conger eel lies concealed he may be badly bitten and even lose a few fingers. Conger eels are often speared on the reef, and are considered a good eating fish.

Turtle

The Mokilese are very fond of turtle meat, but turtles are most highly valued for their shell which is used in the center of the feather fans which are made for sale. It is said that in recent years, turtles have become scarce around Mokil. They are occasionally seen in the lagoon and on the reef, but most are caught in the open ocean. The best time for catching turtles is in June and July when there is little current or wind. The long spear with harpoon tip is used for turtle fishing which is usually done by two men in a paddling canoe. One of them handles the canoe while the other tries to swim up to the turtle. Turtles are evidently quite timid; it is difficult to approach them.[2] If a man can get within striking distance, the turtle is speared and the spear released. The canoe is brought up to the man in the water who climbs aboard. The turtle is then played from the end of the long line that is wound on the floating cylinder. The men watch for the cylinder of wood as it bobs along the ocean in tow of the turtle.

A few hawksbill turtles are caught from time totime around Mokil. In some seasons the hawksbill turtle is poisonous,[3] but in spite of this fact the people eat them.

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[1] If a man gets into a fight and makes a poor showing, people will ridicule him by calling him "nitoy," which is the same thing as saying that he does not try to defend himself.

[2] Forty years ago, according to August, turtles were numerous and easily caught. He says that turtles were not afraid of a swimming man and that during the mating season a turtle would mistake a man for another turtle and eagerly approach him. The swimmer would then have no difficulty in slipping a noose around the turtle's leg so that it could easily be landed from a canoe.

[3] Poison from this source occurs frequently on Ponape where the species is found in considerable numbers. At the time when Jaulik the native practitioner was studying in the hospital at Ponape before the war, twenty-six people suffering from turtle poisoning were brought into the dispensary. In twenty of the cases the results were fatal.

There is a strict rule, however, that no nursing mother may eat this meat because of the danger that poison will be conveyed through her milk to the baby and cause its death even though the mother may not die.[1]

Porpoise

Porpoise is a most highly prized catch. In a good year the Mokilese catch as many as fifty, in a bad year not more than seven or eight. Porpoise falls in the same class as sail fish, marlin and rip*rip, insofar as it is considered such a treat that a man is supposed to share it with all his paneyney and related paneyneys. The meat of the porpoise is a favorite of the Mokilese because of the great amount of fat. The people do not mind in the least the extremely fishy flavor.

The porpoise is harpooned as it plays alongside a fast sailing canoe, hence a strong wind is necessary for catching them. If the porpoise is harpooned in a vital spot it can be landed in a few minutes. If it is harpooned in its tail an hour may be required. A method of speeding up the landing when the harpoon has not struck a vital spot is for a man to swim along the line to the porpoise, feel his way to its mouth and hold the mouth shut. It is said that a porpoise will then give up without further struggling.

The Mokilese say that the method for catching porpoise used in the Marshalls is much more effective. This method can only be used where a reef in the shape of a hook forms a small bay. When the porpoises are observed in one of these small bays, many canoes spread out along the mouth of the bay cutting off escape. The men get in the water and bang rocks together to frighten the porpoises further inshore. Several men stand in the canoes watching the movements of the porpoises. As the porpoises approach one section after another of the line of canoes the men bang the rocks together to frighten them away. In this way they work the porpoises into the shallow water. The porpoises eventually are so frightened that they beach themselves. If the timing of the rock banging is not right and the porpoises get too close to the line of canoes they can escape by jumping over the canoes. King August says that he has seen more than two hundred porpoises caught in this manner in a single drive.

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[1] On August 14, 1947, a baby did die in this way. Four adults in Luelen's paneyney (number thirty-two) including Lemwe the nursing mother shared the meat of a hawksbill turtle. Lemwe was told that she should not eat any of it because of her baby, but she ignored the warning. The baby was not brought to Jaulik until it became apparent that she was seriously ill. Even then, Lemwe, for fear of criticism, did not say anything about the turtle. It was only when other adults in that paneyney came to the dispensary for treatment that Jaulik found out the cause of the baby's illness. Jaulik accused Lemwe publicly of having killed her own child, however, no public action was taken against her. Lemwe received all the sympathy that anyone would normally get at the loss of a child and the usual ceremony was held following its death.

Octopus

Octopus called "kis" is occasionally caught, but it is not important in the diet. Some octopus fishing is done on the reef north of Marlap because of its convenience to the village, but many more and larger ones are caught on the reef bisecting the lagoon between the southern tips of Marlap and Manton. Kis is fished for by either men or women. The women do most of their fishing at low tide using a forked stick to extract the kis from its hole. Jorim is recognized as the best kis fisherman on the atoll; he does all his fishing on the incoming and high tide. Octopi live in small holes in the sand on the reef. The fisherman equipped with goggles, a short spear and small gaff swims slowly along the reef searching the bottom for likely looking holes, each of which he investigates by diving down, lying on the bottom and peering into the hole from different angles. If he sees the eyes of the octopus he plunges the spear into the hole and impales it. The gaff is then hooked into the octopus and it is pulled out. It is seldom that the fisherman gets more than four or five octopi in an afternoon even when the fishing is good.

Several years ago there was a Mortlock woman living on Mokil who had a far more effective technique. When she located an octopus she would reach into the hole and tickle it on the belly with her fingers. The octopus would respond by climbing up her arm. It is said that she could catch twenty or thirty in a day. It seems strange that no one on Mokil ever mastered this highly effective technique.

Shell Fish

The people are fond of shellfish but they find them so hard to get in quantities that they do not spend much time fishing for them. Shellfish figure little in their total diet except as a change from more common fish.

Lobsters called "urun*" are caught at low tide all year round. In the dark of the moon but not at full moon, torches are used. Lobsters are caught with the hand, but more often with a dip net such as the one used for flying fish. A catch of ten lobsters a night is considered good.

A few oysters are found on the reef from time to time; and though the Mokilese seldom deliberately set out to fish for either oysters or clams, if they do spot any while fishing for other things they will take time out to gather them. These delicacies are enjoyed both raw and cooked. Large clams can be found along the outside of the reef about twenty or thirty feet down, but since diving for large clams is hard work with little gained for the effort, they do not often obtain any.

Also found in Mokil are coconut crabs called "opup," which look more like insects than crabs except for their long powerful pincers. The abdominal fat of these crabs is much prized. During the day the crabs live underground in small holes or in the trunks of hollow trees. Most of the coconut crabs are caught by women although men, women and children will try to capture any crabs they may see. When a hole is discovered that looks as though it contains a coconut crab the women probe around in it to find out in which direction it extends. When the base is reached the crab is pulled out. Coconut crabs feed at night; they are quite capable of husking a ripe coconut to get at the meat. On nights when the moon rises around seven it is said that the coconut crab goes to the salt water to drink at which time it can often be caught on the open beach. Another method of catching them, though not such a common one, is to place several pieces of ripe coconut in a clear area to entice the crabs out into the open where they may be caught with ease.

Too much time goes into catching fish for food for fishing to be considered a sport. Nevertheless, the people think of it as one of the easiest and most pleasant types of work that they do. From time to time when schools of needle fish or mullet appear along the docks that line the shore at the village, many young men and boys will drop whatever they are doing to fish for a half hour or so. Though not many fish are caught in this manner the people seem to get a lot of enjoyment out of it. It is also common practice as the sun is setting for a few men to fish off the docks as relaxation from a hard day's work. Men who have fished in the night may take a nap in the morning, however, the attitude is that night fishing should not interfere with the day's work. It is not uncommon for a man who has been up all night fishing to work through the following day. Many people say that only a lazy man will sleep in the daytime. On the other hand, fishing is sometimes used as a means of getting a rest during the day. Some of the men confided that if they feel tired they will go out fishing even though they know the time and conditions are bad for catching anything.

HANDICRAFT

Although much of the subsistence food comes from the sea, food products of the land are considered more essential to livelihood. Moreover, importance of the products of the land increases when it is taken into account that all the materials used for house building, boats, canoes, and the many articles of handicraft used in everyday living including cooking utensils, sleeping mats and other house furnishings are derived from the land. Handicraft for use is made mainly from the leaf of the coconut and the leaf of the pandanus.

Utility Baskets

Green coconut leaf is used for making many types of temporary baskets. One of the most common carrying baskets called "wuru" is made from a single large coconut frond. The rib is broken in two places and the fronds on each side are plaited by themselves in such a way that the leaves at the ends which have been pulled up at right angles to the middle section are worked into the leaves of the center of the frond forming a V-shaped basket which has a rib along the bottom and ends. Handles are plaited last from the remaining frond at the center of the basket.

A second type of basket with a smaller capacity which is used mainly for carrying green coconuts is made out of a coconut frond by first breaking the rib once in the center. The leaves of the frond are woven together in the same way as for wuru with the difference that the final shape is a rough cone, the point being at the bottom.

A form of large basket called "keminponape" used like a bag to store dry copra, carry rubbish or soak green coconut husks in the lagoon in making coconut fiber for rope, is made with one large coconut frond. The fronds on opposite sides of the rib are plaited together so as to form a cylinder. The rib is then split in two, resulting in a mat with a split rib on each side. These split ribs are broken in the middle and the mat folded double so that the two halves of each split rib are lying against each other and can be plaited together. These bag-like containers are five or six feet deep.

One of the most common baskets for holding food for cooking in the um is called "pasinirrir." These are made out of small sections of coconut frond. The opposite sides of the frond are plaited together forming a cylinder similar to the one out of which keminponape is fashioned, but much smaller. The rib is split down the center, the two open ends are then plaited together so that the split ribs form the top of a small basket. Thirty or forty baskets of this type may be made at one time by a single paneyney in preparation for a kamatip or cooperative work party.

More permanent baskets called "puko" are also made from coconut fronds. The frond is first split and most of the heavy part of the rib is removed. The leaves are then toughened over a fire. The basket is made by plaiting each half of the frond by itself and then plaiting the outer edges of the two halves together to form the bottom with the split rib forming the rim of the basket.

A similar basket also called "puko" used for storing small things like needles, thread, cloth or fishing tackle is made in the same way except that extra leaves are woven into the bottom to make it flat and strong. These baskets will last for several months.

Coconut Fiber

A fine fiber is prepared from young coconut leaves. This is the finest and most durable fiber that is used in any type of handicraft on Mokil. Young coconut fronds that have not yet unfurled are selected. The leaves are cut off the rib and the rib is discarded. The inner layer of the leaf is then stripped off and the outer layer which is tough and transparent is retained. The old method of extracting the fiber was to make a scratch through the inner layer across the leaf. The inner layer was gripped in the teeth and the outer fiber pulled free. The Japanese introduced a method that is much more effective. The leaf is placed on a block with the outside down. A dull knife such as a table knife is pressed against the leaf. The inner layer is stripped from the leaf by quickly pulling the leaf under the knife. The fibers are boiled in fresh water for about half an hour, after which they are cooled in cold fresh water. They are split into strips about one eighth to one half an inch wide depending upon the use for which they are intended. Then they are tied in a bundle and hung in the shade to dry. When dry, they are placed in the sun for about half an hour to bleach. Care must be taken to avoid leaving them in the sun too long as the fiber has a tendency to turn red and blue. The fibers will be sorted and cut to even lengths and straightened out by pulling through the fingers. They are then ready for weaving.

This fiber is used for making fine hats that the men save for church and public occasions and for the best quality hats that are sold. Coconut fiber has several advantages over pandanus. It is finer, has a more glossy finish, will wear longer and, in contrast to pandanus fiber, will take a dye. Its main disadvantage is that too much work is involved in its preparation and because of its fineness it takes too long to plait.

Cord made of fiber from green coconut husks is called "pwel." Making pwel is considered women's work, but old men can often be seen passing the time rolling coconut fiber on their legs when they have nothing else to do. For this purpose husks of green coconuts are placed in a large bag (keminponape) and submerged in the lagoon for several months. When the husks are

extremely soft they are taken out and beaten on a rock to separate the fibers from the rest of the husk. The fibers are then laid out to dry, after which they are ready for rolling into pwel. A number of the fibers are rolled into a tuft about ten inches long. Many such tufts are rolled out before the work begins. As a woman starts to make a cord she rolls the end of one tuft into another on her thigh adding tufts until she gets a cord of the desired length. Several lengths of pwel are twisted together to make rope.

Pandanus Fiber

Pandanus plays a much more important part in handicraft for sale and in the manufacture of mats for use. Most of the hats for use as well as for sale are made from pandanus. All of the pandanus raised on Mokil can be used for making handicraft but some are more suitable than others. Of the twenty-three varieties, unmang is so far the best that it is put in a class by itself. Unmang is the only type of pandanus that is used for making hats. Mats made from unmang are more attractive and durable than those made from other types of pandanus. All fine mats for sale are made from unmang.

While I was on Mokil the people were told by the Island Trading Company that mats of a single thickness of pandanus fiber would no longer be purchased. A few weeks later when I noticed that most of the women were still making single mats I reminded them of what the Company had said. The people knew as well as I did that the Company had made such a ruling but they knew also that standards had been set up before by the various Companies which had not been followed. Since the ruling had not gone into effect until after the last ship was there women who had brought in single mats had received just as much money as those whose mats were double, and all the mats, single and double, had been purchased. At the next trading time most of the single mats were not bought and the people became indignant. Resistance to making double mats was based upon the limited supply of unmang and not upon the extra work involved. Many of the people felt that the price of ten cents per square foot did not make it worth their while and went so far as to say that they would stop making them.

Because of its superior quality unmang is prepared more carefully than other types of pandanus. The green leaves are stripped of their center vein and saw edges. Then they are toughened by heating over coals, and cut into strips of desired widths--one eighth inch for making hats and one half inch for making mats. The strips are then put in the sun for an hour. The bleaching can be accomplished by soaking the fibers in cold fresh water and then drying in the sun for an hour or so. After the fiber has been brought in from the sun and has been allowed to cool it is carefully rubbed over a spoon to make it pliable.

At this stage the fiber can be easily broken if it has not lost the heat of the sun before spooning.

Other varieties of pandanus are stripped of their saw edges and center vein, and the remainder then fired in the same way as unmang. The whole leaves are then spread out in the sun for about a week. At this stage the leaves have become rather stiff and are curled up. Each leaf is softened and flattened by rubbing against a smooth upright post with a shoeshine motion, and then rolled up. These rolls are pounded to make them more pliable. It is not until this point is reached that the leaves are cut into strips of suitable size for plaiting. If the pandanus is not pounded it becomes stiff and unworkable after a few days. The center vein and the saw edges can be removed after firing but must be removed before drying.

Mats

The most common utilitarian mats are not made from green pandanus leaves, but from dry ones that have fallen to the ground. The only treatment given to the dry leaves is to strip away the center vein and the saw edges and flatten the leaf against a smooth vertical post. Pieces of pandanus fiber are braided together to form a cord or small rope. The artisan, who during the first stage works sitting down with her legs stretched out in front of her, attaches the cord by a loop to her big toe. The base ends of the leaves which have been notched into a v-shape are tied into the cord in pairs on each side along its length. Each side is plaited separately to form half of the mat. The end result is a mat with a ridge down the center on the under side where the leaves are tied to the cord. One of these mats can be made in a single day. Mats that are made out of dried leaves are used for such things as drying copra, carrying rubbish when they are policing the grounds and covering pit breadfruit.

A better quality mat is made in the same way out of whole pandanus leaves that have been gathered while still green and then fired and dried. These are called sleeping mats and are used primarily for this purpose. Every household has several fine mats and numerous coarser ones made from either dry or green pandanus leaves.

A temporary mat for drying copra is made by plaiting two coconut fronds together. Both sides of each frond are first plaited by themselves and then the outer edges of the two are joined together to form a mat. The stem of each frond forms the strong rim by which the mats can readily be picked up. Such mats can only be used for one coconut cutting before being discarded.

The finest sleeping mats are made from pandanus fiber that has been cut into strips of half an inch or less in width. These take many hours to prepare and are considered one of the hardest kinds of women's work because the women must bend over for many

hours to do the plaiting. Pregnant women avoid this work. Besides the several days required to gather the leaf, fire it, pound it and cut it into strips, a fine mat five by six feet will require as many as three days of concentrated labor. Fine mats are made without the use of a central cord to hold the leaves in place and as a result there is no center ridge on the finished mat.

Hats

Women do not wear hats, but every man on Mokil owns one or more made from unmang. It is the responsibility of each woman to keep her husband supplied with them. Many of the paneyneys own wooden blocks used as forms on which the hats are plaited. It usually takes a woman about three days to complete a pandanus hat.

Belts

Coconut fiber belts are worn only by the men. The fibers are dyed various colors with imported dyes and are plaited into attractive geometric designs. These belts are usually about one inch wide and are fastened by various kinds of tortoise shell buckles. A belt takes one or two days to make depending upon the skill of the worker.

Feather Fans

There is only one type of handicraft that is made exclusively for sale. These are feather fans that were introduced from Ponape in recent years. It is said that the feather fans originally came into Ponape from the Marshall Island about seven years ago. Previous to that time the only type of fan made on Mokil was a purely utilitarian object manufactured from the young leaf of the coconut tree. Feather fans consist of a circular center piece of tortoise shell from three to five inches in diameter. To this is attached a small wooden handle seven or eight inches long. The handle is wrapped with plaited vari-colored coconut fiber. Dyed fiber is plaited around the tortoise shell center in geometric designs. When the plaiting is completed the circular edge is trimmed with dyed chicken feathers.

The fiber that is attached to the tortoise shell and forms the body of the fan must be of a type that can be dyed and also stripped into widths of not less than one quarter inch. It must also be sufficiently tough to permit folding double and, for aesthetic reasons, must be thinner than pandanus. In the Marshalls where the fans originated the women use a fiber made from the bark of the kalau tree (hibiscus) not found on Mokil. This fiber is plentiful in Ponape and has been used there for making grass skirts from aboriginal times. The Mokilese learned to make the fans in Ponape where hibiscus fiber is also used for the purpose. For a time hibiscus was imported to Mokil for the

manufacture of fans. Eventually, however, they discovered a fiber made from a plant growing on Mokil that makes a fair substitute. This fiber is made from the flower stalk of three varieties of taro--sonbongwenu, sh*koki and shalingwalik. These three varieties of taro have all been introduced since 1937. The fiber from the taro is extracted by splitting the stalk and scraping away the pulpy center. The outside fiber is extracted by scraping it with a knife with the same technique as that used in preparing coconut fiber. The fiber is very thin and almost translucent. As soon as it is removed from the stalk it can be placed in a boiling dye. After being dried in the shade for a short time it is ready for use.

The manufacture of handicraft either for use or for sale is considered women's work. The men never do any of the plaiting but they do help in gathering and preparing the leaves. It is not uncommon for a couple to spend the entire day away from the village gathering pandanus leaves. I have seen the King at work for several days at a time with the rest of his paneyney preparing pandanus leaf fiber. Nevertheless, it is primarily the responsibility of the women. It is only when the men have nothing else to do and the women are in a great hurry that the men take part in the work.

Thatch

Another important use of pandanus is the making of thatch for the roofs of the canoe houses, sleeping houses and various other types of shelter. Only dry pandanus leaves gathered from the ground are used for this purpose. Small sticks about a quarter of an inch in diameter and two and a half feet long are used as a base over which the pandanus leaves are folded, overlapping each other. The leaves are held in place by pinning the leaves together with a long thin pointed stick just below the stick over which the leaves are folded. Again, only the women actually make the thatch although the men will gather the leaves, carry them to the house that is to be thatched and do the actual thatching of the roof.

CANOES

Of all the work that is done by the men probably the greatest pride and satisfaction is derived from canoe building. In the old days dugout canoes were slowly and arduously hewed out and shaped with shell tools. By comparison, shelter was easy to provide, since houses were c onstructed of poles and thatch. Canoe building, on the other hand, was the most difficult work undertaken by any paneyney. It must have taken them many months of painstaking labor to produce what now can be built in less than a month. Now their canoes are justly famous; and the tools that enable them to produce them are among their most highly prized possessions.

Canoes are of extreme importance to the Mokilese as a means of transportation and for fishing. They are needed for the

frequent trips to Manton or Urak for firewood, humus, food or for work in the taro patches located on these islands. If a man does not own a canoe he feels relatively helpless. It is more than their utilitarian value, however, which makes canoes prized by the Mokilese. They love the sport and excitement of sailing whether it be in races or in fishing.

In the old days the Mokilese built special racing canoes so narrow and deep that they were of little value on the open sea either for fishing or transportation. It is said that these canoes were built to be used just once a year in the annual regatta that took place at New Year's. In more recent times the men have grown to feel that the construction of this type required too great a sacrifice of time and labor merely for recreation. Now they make a compromise canoe suitable for racing but also adequate for fishing.

Sailing canoes

Mokil sailing canoes are extremely well built and finely finished, and in these respects would compare favorably with the manufactured canoes of this country. Although only twenty feet long with a draught of less than three feet they are completely seaworthy except in the heaviest storms. They carry a little less than two hundred square feel of sail. The excellence of the canoes is probably due to influence from the Marshalls as there are no nearby island groups that approach the Mokilese in canoe building ability. It is said that the Marshall canoe was introduced into Mokil during L*kayd*k's reign around 1760. At this time the Mokilese had only a paddling canoe of their own, similar to their present one. The Marshall canoes were much larger being about thirty feet long and much deeper. It took three breadfruit trees to make one Marshall canoe--one piece for the bottom, one for the stem and stern pieces and one for the upper part of the sides. In addition to the great amount of material required for Marshall canoes, they were difficult to take across the reef. Their main advantage was that they were able to sail much closer into the wind. About fifty years ago the people began to make sailing canoes modeled after their own paddling canoes with some modifications suggested by the Marshall type. The first was built by Joni Igins.

About the time that the Marshall type sailing canoe became popular there were only a few people on the island who knew how to build them. The secrets of the trade were closely guarded so that it was extremely difficult for others to learn the art. When a man wanted a canoe built he called in a specialist who would do the job for a large pig and one or more corms of taro. The specialist always insisted that the man who gave the commission should not witness the construction. Jemej's father, Orlando, was one of the most famous canoe builders of this period. The young men still speak of his great ability with awe. It is said that he could look at a canoe and tell whether it

would sail fast. He always won the New Year's races by a wide margin. His skill extended to sail making as well. His son, Jemej, is now considered one of the best canoe builders on the island.

One of the indications that a man has reached maturity and should command respect as an adult is that he is able to build his own canoe. Some of the young men say that a man cannot even command the respect of his wife if he has not built a canoe; and they suggest as an example that Lemwe left her husband, Joseph Belep, because he had never built one. According to some of the young men on the island there are only six people that they suspect are unable to build a canoe. Two of them are still young men--Joseph Belep and Titirik. The other four, Wiliam Luta, Oliper, Alipot and Jamuel are beyond the canoe building age. A man's reputation for competence and skills are made when he is young but enjoyed through his declining years. Some of the older men who have long since given up canoe building, for example, are still considered among the best canoe builders on the island. The old men are put in a separate class from the young men in terms of ability. A man of not more than forty years, they feel, is just learning and cannot be judged for his ultimate ability.

When a man is going to build a canoe he announces his intention several days in advance. He may select a suitable breadfruit tree from his own land or may have a tree given to him by a near relative. In some cases a tree may even be purchased. On the appointed day some twenty to thirty men appear to help cut down the tree.

In the fall of 1947, Ernij, one of the best canoe builders among the young men, decided to build a canoe. Ernij did not have a suitable tree of his own, but he was given one by his close relative Lemuel. It so happened that this tree was growing on George Higgins' land. Lemuel, as the custodian of George Higgins' property in the latter's absence in Ponape, felt that he had the right to give away one of his trees. Ernij, however, felt that it was not right and insisted on giving Lemuel money to send to George. It is most unusual to put out cash for a tree.

Early one morning thirty men equipped with axes, adzes and other tools showed up at the place where the tree was growing. No attempt was made to organize the work. Each man went ahead and did what he wanted. Some started to chop down the tree while others cleared out the underbrush in the area. A heavy rope was used to guide the tree in its fall. After it was felled the limbs were cut off and the tree trimmed into a fairly smooth log. Each man did what he wished; some lying back, talking and looking on.

The first roughing out of the log into the shape of a canoe was done by eye. Then a line twenty feet long was stretched along the top of the log, which was to be shaped into the keel.

The line was divided in half to find the center of the canoe. By doubling and redoubling the line and laying it against the log, quarters and eighths were found and marked off. A line was then drawn along the log parallel to the keel about halfway down the side of the log. This line served as a base from which further measurements could be made. The division into eighths was necessary to determine curvature of the keel. After the top of the log was rounded out so that it approximated the shape of the bottom of a canoe the log was turned over. The opposite side eventually to be the top was leveled off. The ends were left higher than the center. The base line for all the measurements was the same twenty foot line that had been drawn along the side of the log.

The preliminary hollowing out of the log was done at this stage but the walls were left about six inches thick. The log, roughly resembling a finished canoe, was hauled out to the lagoon by many of the men with the aid of a heavy rope. As they struggled along, the following chant was sung by one of the men and repeated by the rest to the rhythm of their work:

leader:	men:
Ikimo ikimo	Ikimo ikimo
Ikimo k*mali	Ikimo k*mali
K*mali K*mewo	K*mali K*mewo
K*mewo rikiti wo	K*mewo rikiti wo
Rikiti wo tu ti	Rikiti wo tu ti
Tu ti me'epeo	Tu ti me'epeo
'epeo me'epeo	'epeo me'epeo

Cutting down the tree, shaping the log and hauling it to the lagoon took two days. Ernij did not get around to finishing the canoe until the following March due to pressure of other work.

It is quite usual to leave the hull soaking in the lagoon for from two days to a month. The purpose of soaking is to take out the sticky sap and to keep the wood from warping. King August says that this soaking is a lot of foolishness. He made a canoe in Ponape without soaking the hull and the result was excellent. It is not necessary to dry out the hull before recommencing work. The finishing of the hull and the preparation of all the parts used for the outrigger and attachments, masts and spars for the rigging is done by the builder alone. It is considered his business. But it frequently happens that more experienced older men in his paneyney and even friends will help out from time to time.

The first step in finishing the hull is to build up the sides by fitting in blocks of wood that have been cut to shape. At this stage the sides are still about four inches thick. Next, work is started on the outside of the hull to finish the shaping. This is done entirely by eye. Only the curve of the keel is controlled by standard measurements taken from the base line

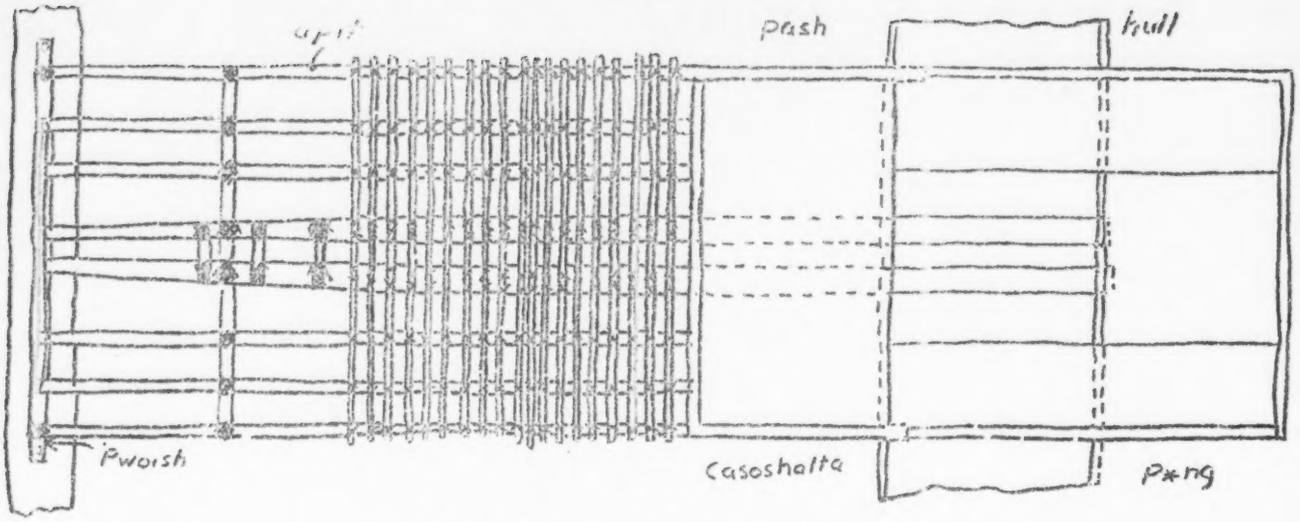
described above. Most of the work of shaping the canoe is done with an adze, and the finer work with a plane. All the measuring is done on the lee side which will be the side away from the outrigger. In shaping the hull the cross-section is slightly assymetrical, the side away from the outrigger being more vertical. After the outside has been completed the inside is hollowed out. The thickness of the wood is controlled by drilling holes through the hull, three through each side and four along the keel, the depth of which they check as work progresses. When the walls are of the required thickness, the holes are plugged up. The thickness increases from one inch at the gunwale to two inches at the keel. Before the outrigger is tied the hull is finished and the thwarts are put in place. All the rest of the parts are also made. Now the canoe is ready for what is called a "canoe tying."

The tying on of the outrigger is done in one day with the help of many men. The building of the hull may have taken several months to complete, as the owner only works on it in the time that he can spare from other work that is essential to making a living. In a single day, the canoe changes from a naked hull and many separate parts, some of them still incomplete, to an outrigger canoe ready for launching except for waterproofing and painting.

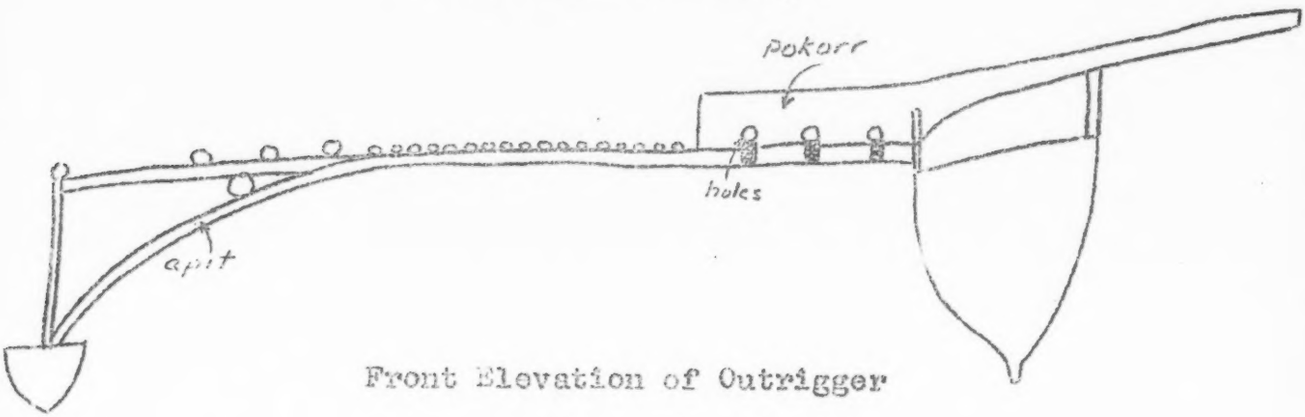
In a canoe tying, when they first start work on the outrigger, two heavy pieces of wood resembling two-by-threes are passed through prepared holes on both sides of the canoe amidships sticking out about two inches on the leeward side of the hull and extending to the limits of the outrigger on the windward side. During the first stages of building the outrigger these outrigger supports are suspended from the beams of the canoe house by ropes. When the float is attached, it is first put into position opposite the hull and the distance is measured from the tip of each end of the canoe to the tip of each end of the float, the float being adjusted until these are equidistant. When the workers are certain that the float is exactly parallel to the hull and its center is opposite the center of the hull, it is held in position by nailing boards between the ends of the canoe and outrigger.

Canoe tying includes more than just attaching the outrigger to the canoe. Many of the parts used in the outrigger must be finished and fitted as the canoe tying proceeds. All of the parts are provided by the owner of the canoe, but most of them are still in rough form. Decking for the ends of the canoe, all of the platform for the center of the canoe including the side rails, the parts of the spring bow used over the float and even the six curved poles that form the base of the platform that extends to the float (or outrigger) are carefully cut and fitted together during a canoe tying. These six curved poles called "apit" are attached to the float with pwel lashings. The lashing process is called "inauapit." There are four standard methods

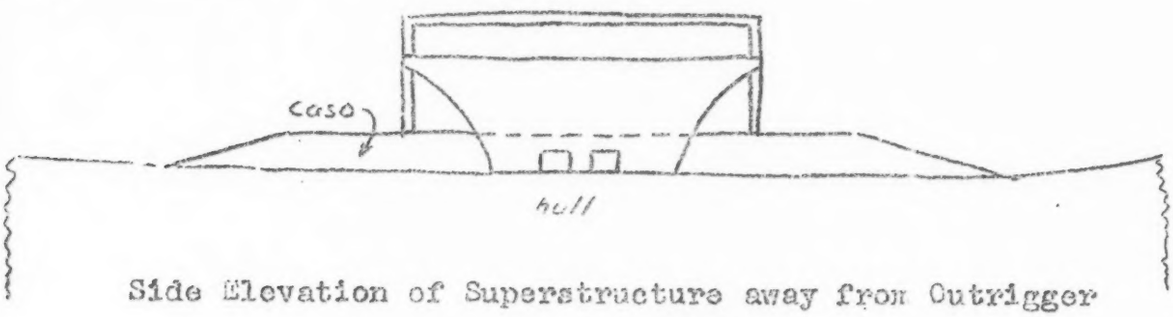
FIGURE V
CANOE CONSTRUCTION



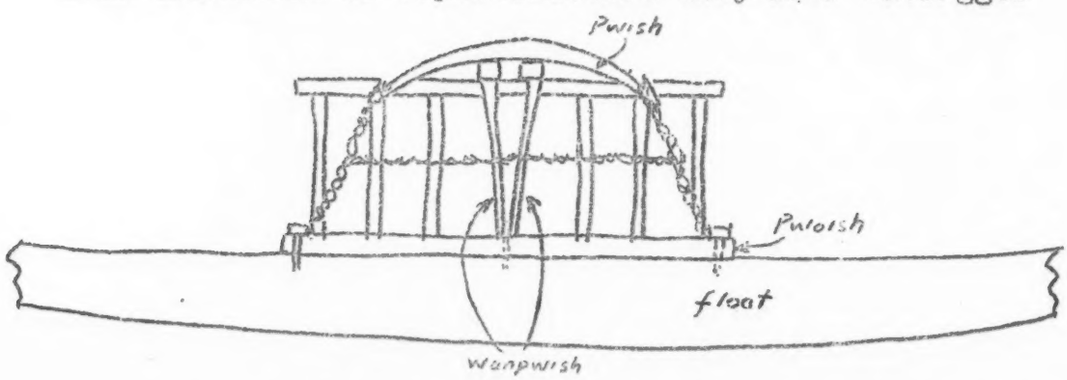
Plan View of Outrigger



Front Elevation of Outrigger



Side Elevation of Superstructure away from Outrigger



Side Elevation of Outrigger

by which these poles are lashed to the float. Only a few men know all four ways. Most men specialize in one of them. Every man does the work he wants to do, some concentrating on fitting in the decking, while others do the lashings of the cross pieces onto the outrigger.

There are eleven jobs in canoe tying that are considered highly skilled. Some men can do all of the jobs competently and some men can do only one or two. These eleven skilled jobs are described as follows:

1. Spring bow on outrigger called "pwish."
2. Two sticks coming down from pwish called "wanpwish."
3. Tying wanpwish in.
4. Tying outrigger curved poles onto outrigger, an operation called "inauapit." ("Inau" means lashing, "apit" means poles.)
5. Ridge of wood on top of float, used to lash supports onto outrigger, called "pwoish."
6. Side rails called "pokorr" on platform over canoe.
7. Horizontal boards that project over lee side of canoe called "p*ng."
8. Board platform on windward side called "pash."
9. Ridge on windward side of pash called "casoshaltu."
10. Vertical wall boards on lee side called "caso."
11. Deck on ends of canoe called "deck."

The tempo of the work in a canoe tying varies through the day. Sometimes it seems as though almost everybody who can get near the canoe has found a job for himself and is busily at work. At other times only four or five men are working while all the rest stand around and talk. One of the last jobs to be done is also one of the most skilled, tying in the spring bow of the outrigger. The pwish (bow) and wanpwish (the two sticks that support it) are carefully made of coconut wood. The coconut fiber cord (pwel) with which the pwish and wanpwish are tied into the float is lashed around each separate part in a special complicated fashion so that the component parts will never come loose. No nails or screws are used in attaching an outrigger or its parts with the exception of the bolts used to attach the pwoish to the float.

Before the canoe can be launched it must be painted. This job takes several days and is done by the owner alone.

The making of the triangular sails is an art in itself, and everyone in the paneyney helps out. Before the cloth is cut for the sail, spars are made out of breadfruit. The spars are laid out on the ground and strips of cloth are cut to fit between them. These strips are sewed up on the paneyney sewing machine or on that of a related paneyney if they do not own one. A heavy cord is sewed into the side of the sail that will be fitted onto the forward spar. This finished side is fitted onto the forward spar which has been forced into a curve between several

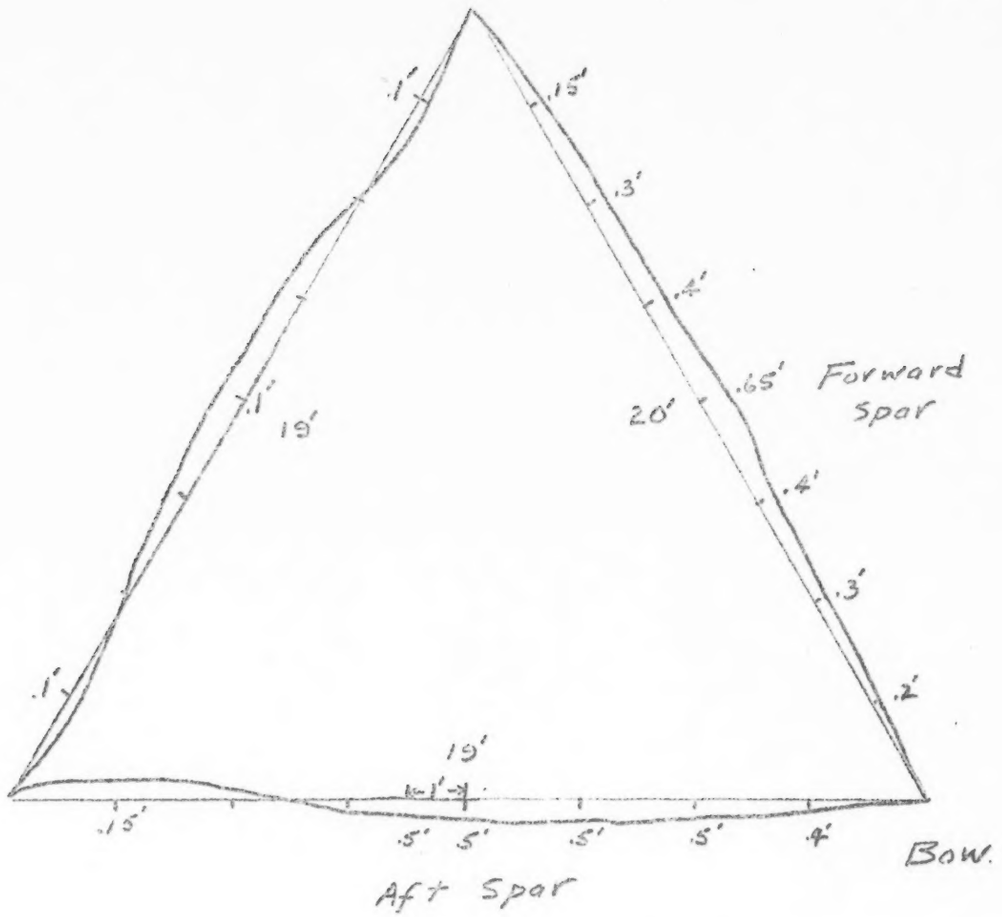


FIGURE VI

DESIGN IN SAILMAKING

stakes driven into the ground.[1] The sail is then pulled taut and tacked down on the other two sides to boards that have been laid on the ground.

When a man is ready to stretch his sail he sends word out among his neighbors that he wants help. In a few minutes thirty or forty people are gathered to do the job which takes not more than a half hour at most. The people line up on the two sides away from the forward spar. To the same chant starting "Ikimo ikimo" used in hauling logs they pull simultaneously on the sides.

The proper curve on the two remaining sides of the sail are drawn while the forward spar is still held between the stakes. Base lines along the edges are established by stretching a string between the corners. These lines are then marked off in eight equal parts by doubling and redoubling, etc. a piece of string equal to the length of each side. These points are the reference marks from which measurements are taken at right angles to the base line for determining the curve required for an efficient sail. A line is then sewed into the sail according to these measurements and the cloth is folded over the line and sewed. The last step is to attach the after, or lower, spar.

There is always a great deal of uncertainty attached to sail making. Just before the annual races in 1948 some of the men took their sails off the spars for recutting in the hope of making them more efficient. There was a shortage of cloth for sail making, and the greatest trouble came from the difference in weights of the cloth used. No one was certain as to what was the best design for the cloth of the particular weight that he was able to secure. There were only a limited few who have had cloth that they consider heavy enough for a good sail. The 1948 race was won by Tepit of Oliten's paneyney (number twenty-eight). His victory was attributed to the fact that he had a sail made out of eight ounce duck. Many of the young men felt that their canoes were just as fast as Tepit's, but because of his superior sail they had no chance of winning.

Rope for the rigging of the canoe as well as the cords used for lashings are made of pwel. The people prefer imported rope but cannot always get it.

Paddling Canoes

Paddling canoes are similar to sailing canoes, the chief difference lying in the outrigger. The hull is shallower and does not have a four inch keel. Only four of the curved poles called "apits" are used to go from the canoe to the outrigger

[1] When the forward spar is released from the stakes it snaps straight, causing the sail to billow properly for good sailing.

as contrasted to six in the sailing canoe. The float is not attached with the strength and care given the sailing canoe, and the spring bow is absent. The cross pieces that form the lattice work on the outrigger platform number between ten and twelve as contrasted to the eighteen or twenty on a sailing canoe. Most paddling canoes range between twelve and fifteen feet in length.

There are many more paddling canoes than sailing canoes on Mokil. The former are used to paddle around the lagoon to the various islands and over the reef. They are also used for fishing off the reef at night or for trolling on the reef with flies. Sailing canoes, on the other hand, as well as whale boats are used for hauling loads. In addition, sailing canoes are used for longer trips and for deep sea fishing where speed is a requisite.

Sailing canoes are always manned by men. If women and children have work to do on Manton or Urak they always go in paddling canoes. Often women accompanied by one or more children will go off to Urak or Manton to gather pandanus leaf for mats, grass for mats or firewood which they load on the outrigger. To do the same type of chore, men will take sailing canoes as they are much faster. However, if the men are planning on fishing on the reef or wish to go to Manton to work in their taro patches they will frequently take a paddling canoe. In most of the fishing except for trolling outside the reef they prefer to use the paddling canoe as it is easier to get about on the reef and does not drift as much in the wind, nor do they get into difficulties with the rigging. Paddling canoes are almost always used for torch fishing for flying fish outside the reef. This is true in spite of the fact that taking the canoes outside the reef on a fishing expedition involves several hours of hard paddling.

The people are extremely conscientious in the care of their canoes. They are always brought into the shelter of a canoe house immediately upon arrival at the village. Even when visiting another island they are drawn up under the trees to protect them from the sun. They may be anchored in the water but in that case must be covered with coconut fronds. Even with this precaution it is not considered a good practice. If the canoes are left in the salt water for long they will be attacked by sea worms. Hence, if a man thinks he will be gone more than three or four hours he will always haul his canoe up into the shade. Because canoes cannot be left in the water or in the sun for any length of time the frequent handling of a heavy sailing canoe creates a problem. The women do not have the strength required to take care of a sailing canoe even if given the opportunity to sail them. For this reason they are limited to the use of a paddling canoe for fishing and transportation.

WHALE BOATS

Whale boats are more directly connected with production for money and trade. Their most important use is in the transportation of copra during the cutting period that precedes the arrival of the ship. After the copra has been cut and dried it is sacked and carried out to the ship in whale boats. At present, each family is responsible for transporting its own copra. There are only twenty whale boats on Mokil, and those that do not own one must wait until their more fortunate friends or relatives have delivered their copra to the ship.

Whale boats were introduced to Mokil about twenty-five years ago by Jouab and August. Jouab bought one from the Japanese and, in cooperation with August made a copy from this model. Before that time a flat bottomed row boat called a lighter was made on Mokil. These lighters were much less efficient than the whale boats. They could not carry such heavy loads and were harder to handle. It was not long after the introduction of whale boats that lighters stopped being used entirely and disappeared.

In order to copy the whale boat precisely, forms resembling boat ribs were constructed. The first ones were made by Jouab, Jemej and August. Now most of themmen know how to make the forms, and there are about twenty sets on Mokil. Most of the materials used in whale boat construction can be found on the atoll. One exception is the copper nails. Few whale boats have been made since before the war because these were not available. Fortunately there was a quantity of heavy copper wire that could be shaped into nails. One of the biggest jobs in making the whale boat in terms of time consumed was converting this copper wire into nails.

The keel is made from two local woods called kibuk and Ishо. When they can get it, pine is preferred. Breadfruit is not considered good for keels. The ribs are also made from local woods such as ka*lau, ka*nau, ram*k, wi and kibuk. These woods can be easily bent into shape after they have been steamed. Boards for the sides are made from breadfruit. The steaming of the ribs is done in a hollow pandanus log one end of which is closed off. A hole is made midway in the length of the hollow log and a short piece of hose or pipe is run from this hole down to a five gallon can that is used as a steamer. The log is laid on braces in a horizontal position about four feet from the ground. The five gallon can is filled with water which is brought to the boiling point. Steam from the can passes up the pipe or hose and into the hollow pandanus log. The narrow strips of wood that are to be used as ribs are placed inside the log and the open end of the log is sealed off with a piece of burlap.

Construction always take place inside the canoe house. The keel is first laid and the stems attached. The forms are then put in place on the keel and boards are bent around the outside of the forms at the top to make a temporary gunwale, and loosely

nailed to hold the forms in place. A few of the side boards are nailed onto the forms at the bottom--about three boards on each side of the keel. From these to the gunwale temporary boards are nailed from stem to stern so that the ribs can be bent into place against them. All of the ribs are then forced into position and clamped to the temporary side boards. When they are properly fitted the side boards are nailed to the ribbing (completing the hull). The side boards are always put in first at the bottom working up to the gunwale.

As the work progresses the temporary side boards are pulled off. One of the last steps is the removal of the heavy forms around which the whale boat is shaped. The whale boat is held together with copper nails used in conjunction with copper washers over which the nails which have passed completely through the wood are pounded to form rivets. After the hull is completed the thwarts are put in. The last operation is the instalment of the gunwale.

Whale boat construction is always done by cooperative labor. It is never a one man project. Whale boats are also never privately owned by one individual, but belong to the family group as a whole. Plans for making whale boats are laid over a period of several weeks or even months. Arrangements must be made to get copper nails, acquire the different types of lumber necessary for the keel, ribs and siding and do the preliminary work of sawing the lumber that will be needed. All of the active men of the paneyney will participate in the entire construction. But the production of a whale boat is considered to be much too big a job to be handled by one paneyney. From the day that the keel is laid men from related paneyneys will come to help. It is seldom that any one man outside of the paneyney will work more than two or three days of the total construction time. Some days no more than one or two men will appear. On other days there will be as many as ten or fifteen men from outside of the paneyney. Each day the paneyney that is building the whale boat finds out how many men it can expect the following day. This is important as it is customary for the owner to provide food for all the workers and he must have some idea of how many people he will have to feed.

While I was on Mokil, Etijon's paneyney (number twenty-one) and Alipot's paneyney (number twenty-six) decided that they both needed a whale boat, but they felt that it was too much work for either to attempt by themselves. They therefore pooled their resources both of material and labor and built a whale boat together. Each paneyney has a half interest in the whale boat and both use it whenever they wish. Unless these two paneyneys had been very closely knit such a consolidation of interests could not have taken place. In this case Alipot's two sons are married to daughters of Etijon.

HOUSE CONSTRUCTION

Canoe houses, sleeping houses, various types of shelters for ums and cooking, etc. have come down from aboriginal times. The materials necessary for their construction are native to Mokil. If the people were cut off entirely from outside contact they would have no trouble in housing themselves. Frame houses are definitely a new-fangled luxury. Outside of the fact that the tin roofs have the important advantage of providing clean rain water their value can only be measured by the prestige that the possession of them brings to the owners. The native type of houses can be built in a fraction of the time and labor required to build a frame house. Housebuilding of any sort is a paneyney matter and if the construction of the native type of houses is planned it is still not thought of as a big project. The one exception is the thatching of the canoe houses.

Canoe houses have either four or six upright posts to support the roof depending on the size desired and the idiosyncrasies of the individual builder. The area of the canoe house is about twenty-five by thirty feet. The posts are usually made from the iit tree, the wood of which seems to be almost indestructible. Iit wood is unaffected by termites or climate. Jouab's canoe house is about fifty years old and the iit posts are still sound. Sometimes other woods are used for posts, such as win, Jisho, coconut, pandanus and occasionally kidak. Pandanus is always used for the beams as it does not sag. Whole logs are used for both the posts and the beams. The rafters are made of hewed lumber about the size of two by fours. On top of the rafters a lattice work of poles is built to form the support on which the pandanas leaf thatch will be attached. Wembul is the best wood for this lattice work as it is long lasting if not exposed to the weather. The eaves extend beyond the beams, reaching to within two to four feet of the ground. The ends of the canoe houses are gabled and covered with thatch. There are no walls.

Sleeping houses, cooking houses and various other types of shelter are of the same construction on a smaller scale. Sleeping houses are provided with thatch walls as well as thatch roofs. Other shelters merely have the thatch roofs supported on four posts.

The first frame house was introduced about the middle of the nineteenth century. It is said that some white men built a large house of about twenty rooms on Manton. The construction was of lath and stucco. It had a pitched roof covered with pandanus thatch. About sixty years ago the Spanish introduced a frame house made of wood also with a thatch roof. No one could remember anything about the style of this house. It was during the German period that the type of frame house now found on Mokil was first built, and when the iron roofing was adopted.

I was told by August that there were many frame houses on Mokil as far back as He could remember.

The only native wood used in frame houses is breadfruit. Other woods from Ponape may be used if available. The posts upon which the houses are built, about five feet above the ground, are made of maypa breadfruit. Boards are cut from maysh*porik.

The building of a frame house is a major operation taking many months of preparation as well as actual construction. King August began making plans for building a frame house in the fall of 1947. Early in December he cut down the breadfruit trees that were to be used for timber. An estimate was made of the sizes and quantity of lumber that would be required. The next three months were spent by him and the other men in his paneyney in sawing the wood to fill these requirements. Studs, sills, beams, rafters and boards were all cut out by the men of the paneyney before any actual building was started. To help saw a considerable part of the lumber to be used for siding August called for cooperative work which included men outside of his paneyney. These men worked on a formalized work exchange basis which will be described in the next chapter.

When actual construction started people came to help on a volunteer basis. Helpers from outside the paneyney worked only in the preliminary stages when many men were needed to do the heavy work of setting out the posts, laying the framework for sills on the posts that would serve as a foundation. Outside help was also needed for the erection of the studding, laying the rafters and finally the roof. Once the roof had been put in place the rest of the work was done by August with the help of the junior men in his paneyney. He tried to avoid the use of men from outside his paneyney as much as possible as the host is expected to feed the workers, which over a period of several weeks may result in a serious drain on the resources of even the richer paneyneys.

NATIVE TOOLS

Although most of the tools used in production are imported, a few, made from local materials, are used in the preparation of food. Many of the recipes call for grinding and mashing. Mashing is done with a pestle and mortar. The pestle is made from a hard form of coral called ashimum which is very heavy and tough. The pestle stands about eight inches high and is shaped like a mushroom. The base of the pestle is about four inches in diameter. The mortar called "tapang" is an oval board about two feet in its longest dimension and three or four inches thick. It has a depression in the center for holding the food to be mashed. The mortar may be made of breadfruit--either maypa or maysh*porik. It is always made from an old tree and is quite red which is an indication of its age. Old wood has the advantage of taking a fine finish and being easy to clean.

The coconut grater or scraper called "renke'" consists of a block of wood upon which the user sits. Projecting from one end is a neck of wood to the end of which a saw-edged steel grater is attached.

Their mixing bowl called "shabi" is boat-shaped. It is two to four feet long and a little over one foot wide. It is made out of isho (breadfruit) wood. These mixing bowls are large enough for the younger children to sit in and paddle around in the lagoon.

Most of the coconut huskers are four to five feet long and are made of a single pole four inches in diameter with a steel tip. These poles are driven into the ground until they are about waist height. They are slanted slightly away from the worker.

Money Income

Production for money is not a continuous process and is not entirely integrated into the total economy. On Mokil making a living actually consists of the production of food for subsistence, the building of canoes and whale boats for fishing and transportation and the building of houses for shelter. There is enough of this kind of work to keep every grown person on the island busy throughout the year. This work, however, is interrupted every two or three months by the production of copra and the making of handicraft during the two or three weeks before the trade ship is expected. In the early part of 1947, the Island Trading Company attempted to make their trips to the various islands on a monthly schedule. In the short period that such a schedule was approximated the elders of Mokil complained that the people could not get their work done. The incentive is so great to produce for money in order to buy the highly valued manufactured goods that the essential work of cultivating taro patches and working on canoes and houses is interrupted. If it is known that a ship will not return for several months all the energies of the men will be devoted to activities directly concerned with livelihood. The women, however, may begin again to work on handicraft for sale shortly after a ship leaves, but at this time the work is more casual and is solely a spare time activity. As the time approaches for a ship's arrival more and more time is given to the making of handicraft until finally many of the women spend entire days on it, working even late in the evenings by the feeble light of home made kerosene lamps.

COPRA

Copra cutting usually begins about three weeks before a ship is due. Most of the paneyneys own coconut land on each of the three islands in the atoll. Those who have relatively large holdings must plan on devoting a week's labor to preparing the crop from each island. The schedule followed by King August is to go to one island for a day with all the working members of his paneyney. The men set up their copra huskers in a central spot while the women walk about over the land gathering the ripe

Some paneyneys have so little coconut land that it is not worth their while to make a cutting for each ship. Three of the poorest paneyneys on the island--those of Aijak, Jorim and Joaj had to depend for money entirely upon the sale of handicraft for months at a time.

HANDICRAFT

It has only been since the coming of the Americans that the sale of handicraft has become important. The Japanese purchased little. Now, through the encouragement first of the USCC and then of the Island Trading Company, the production of mats, hats and feather fans has become one of the major occupations of the women. At present it consumes more of the women's time than that spent in copra production. The poorer families have been particularly quick to take advantage of this new source of income.

Income from handicraft as compared to that from copra is still small. The sale made to the February ship in 1948, represented the production of handicraft on the island for a two month's period. The average return amounted to $252.95 per month. This was about eighteen per cent of the income received from the sale of copra for the same period. The total income from copra over the nine month period from June, 1947 to February, 1948 was $12,613. This is an average income of $3.64 per month per capita. The range of incomes between paneyneys was wide. Monthly incomes ranged from an average of sixty-three cents to $10.57 per capita depending upon the paneyney. Table VIII gives the income from copra and handicraft for each paneyney.

FISH

Another possible source of income is from the sale of dried fish. At the time I left Mokil in May, 1948, the Island Trading Company paid $67.20 for 336 pounds of dried bonito. This was the first sale of dried fish that had been made since the coming of the Americans. If this market should develop, fishing may offer opportunities for increasing income and further freeing the people from their extreme dependence upon the land.

For the first five months of 1948 the total income received from copra, handicraft and fish amounted to $4,952.43. During this same period $4,174.46 was spent by the people on groceries and trade goods. This left them a trade balance of $777.97.

WAGE LABOR

From time to time the young men go to Ponape to work for the Civil Administration and the Island Trading Company. The income from this source is negligible. According to the records of the Naval Affairs Officer on Ponape there were only ten Mokilese employed by the Civil Administration and three employed by the

TABLE VIII

CASH INCOME BY PANEYNEY

Mokil March 1948		Copra Sales 9 month period: June-Feb, 1947-48					Handicraft 2 mo. period Dec. to Feb. 1947-48			Average Cash Income	
Pan.	Mem.	Total	Rank	Per Capita	Capita Per Mo.	Rank	Total	Per Capita	Capita Per Mo.	Per Capita	Rank
1	10	282.75	19	28.27	3.14	24	24.40	2.44	1.22	4.36	20
2	8	328.12	13	41.01	4.56	13	44.80	5.60	2.80	7.36	4
3	5	289.13	16	57.82	6.47	5	15.00	3.00	1.50	7.97	3
4	18	226.57	24	12.59	1.40	34	19.00	1.06	.53	1.93	38
5	5	184.48	29	36.89	4.10	16	15.50	3.10	1.55	5.65	15
6	5	261.48	21	52.29	5.81	8	13.50	2.70	1.35	7.16	6
7	15	745.08	3	49.67	5.52	11	10.00	.66	.33	5.85	11
8	5	173.36	31	34.67	3.85	19				3.85	22
9/22	12	685.27	5	57.11	6.35	6				6.35	8
10	16	287.20	17	17.95	1.99	31	5.50	.34	.17	2.16	34
11	15	745.35	2	49.69	5.52	10	4.00	.27	.13	5.65	14
12	4	204.13	26	51.03	5.67	9				5.67	13
13	6	371.35	11	61.89	6.88	4	2.00	.33	.16	7.04	7
14	14	313.50	14	22.39	2.49	28				2.49	31
15	9	499.48	8	55.50	6.17	7				6.17	9
16	9	260.81	22	28.98	3.22	22	2.50	.27	.13	3.35	25
17	6	183.77	30	30.63	3.40	21				3.40	24
18	4	339.40	12	84.85	9.43	2	4.00	1.00	.50	9.93	2
19	15	114.32	33	7.62	.85	37	15.50	1.03	.51	1.36	39
20	7	267.98	20	38.28	4.25	14	21.00	3.00	1.50	5.75	12
21	6	570.75	7	95.12	10.57	1	6.00	1.00	.50	11.07	1
22	0										
23	5	158.60	32	31.72	3.52	20	15.80	3.16	1.58	5.10	18
24	6	42.00	38	7.00	.78	38	16.50	2.75	1.38	2.16	33
25	12	443.15	9	36.85	4.09	17	24.40	2.03	1.01	5.10	17
26	15	232.22	23	15.48	1.72	33	25.50	1.70	.85	2.57	30
27	26	663.14	6	25.50	2.83	26	42.00	1.61	.80	3.63	23
28	14	403.41	10	28.81	3.20	23	40.50	2.89	1.44	4.64	19
29	18	687.04	4	38.17	4.24	15	50.60	2.81	1.40	5.64	16
30	17	1101.80	1	64.81	7.20	3				7.20	5
31	13	202.76	27	15.60	1.73	32	7.00	.54	.27	2.00	36
32	12	101.85	34	8.49	.94	36	29.80	2.48	1.24	2.18	32
33	12	285.08	18	23.75	2.64	27	4.40	.37	.18	2.82	27
34	8	93.09	35	11.64	1.29	35	11.10	1.39	.69	1.98	37
35	16	312.63	15	19.54	2.17	29	13.50	.84	.42	2.59	29
36	2	71.70	36	35.85	3.98	18				3.98	21
37	4	191.64	28	47.91	5.32	12	6.00	1.50	.75	6.07	10
38	0										
39	8	210.04	25	26.25	2.92	25				2.92	26
40	3	55.80	37	18.60	2.07	30				2.07	35
41	4	22.73	39	5.68	.63	39	16.00	4.00	2.00	2.63	28
Total	384	12,612.96 Ave: (1401.44) Per Mo.			Ave: 3.64		505.90 Ave: (252.95) Per Mo.		Ave: .66	Ave: 4.30	

Island Trading Company. All of those who worked for the Civil Administration had been hired as carpenters and as such received a higher salary than that paid for unskilled labor. Salaries ranged from $15.60 to $18 per month for these men. Each of the three men employed by the Island Trading Company received a salary of $24. Food was provided for those men who did not live with their relatives at forty-five cents a day or $9.00 a twenty day work month. For a full month the charge was $13.50. I have been told by George Higgins that many of the men ate all their meals in the general mess at this rate and were barely able to break even after buying cigarettes, soap, etc. The Mokilese spoke of such men as being truly "working men," men who worked for nothing but their keep.

ISLAND TRADING COMPANY

Up to May, 1948, the Island Trading Company controlled the copra trade on Mokil and, to a large extent, trade in general in Micronesia. Up to that time, a few cooperative stores had been organized in such places as Truk and Ponape. I have been told that these organizations were making arrangements to handle the sale of copra. However, most of the trade had been conducted by the Island Trading Company.[1] This organization has been set up to develop trade throughout Micronesia. I have been told that the profits are returned to the area in the form of services such as education, medicine and public improvements. The Island Trading Company has professed no interest in continuing control over the trade of the area. They are attempting to operate on a businesslike basis so that they may realize sufficiently high profits to interest private business in coming into the area for its future development. In the quarterly report that was submitted in March, 1948, they showed a profit for three months of $417,113. In the same report, however, it was pointed out that if the cost absorbed by the Navy had been deducted the profit would have amounted to $192,911. On this basis it would figure out to a net profit of nineteen per cent on the investment.

To return to the area with which the report is concerned the net profit for the Ponape district which includes Mokil and other outlying islands amounted to $14,929. Most of this was made in the copra trade which is understandable when it is realized that the highest price paid the producers for their copra amounted to $100 for a short ton and during the first quarter of 1948 the copra was being sold on Guam at prices ranging from $267.50 to $300 per short ton. The cost of shipping the copra

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[1]The Island Trading Company was incorporated by a special proclamation of the Governor of Guam on December 8, 1947, with the consent of both Houses of the Guam Congress. This corporation is actually a subsidiary of the United States Navy. All of the capital stock is held by the Deputy High Commissioner of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. The stock is not transferrable but passes automatically to each successor to this office.

to Guam was absorbed by the Navy. The freight costs from Guam to San Francisco is $21 per short ton. It is probable that if competition were introduced into the copra trade the natives of the area would receive a larger return.

The efforts made by the Island Trading Company in developing the handicraft market is highly commendable. They are attempting to develop new types of handicraft and are setting up standards for the handicraft that is now produced which will help to insure an ever increasing market.

CHAPTER III

COOPERATION AND EXCHANGE

Cooperation

On Nokil, little work is done on an individual basis. A man may occasionally go alone to fish, to plant a coconut tree or harvest a bunch of bananas; and women sometimes work alone gathering firewood or pandanus leaves, or working on handicraft in their spare time. But such solitary activities play a small part in the economy of Nokil. They are considered minor chores. Of the important activities, taro cultivation comes closest to being individual work. If the owner of a taro patch is a man, he alone will take credit for the size and quality raised. It is true that the owner does most of the work, but he is helped materially by other members of his immediate family. His wife helps weed, harvest and replant the taro; older children help gather leaves and grass for mulching the soil. If the owner is a woman, she too can expect help from other members of the family, but in her case recognition is more in terms of respect for her industry than for the size of her taro. The Nokilese disregard the obvious cooperation within the family and think of taro cultivation as an individual achievement.

This is also true of canoe building in spite of the cooperative labor involved. The prospective owner is supposed to design and shape his own canoe, and when he actually does he receives the credit for the speed, seaworthiness and ease of handling of the finished product. But in fact, the felling of the tree, the rough shaping of the log, the tying of the outrigger and the finishing of the superstructure are accomplished with the help of friends and relatives representing many outside paneyneys. Some help and advice is even received from other men within the paneyney in the construction of the hull although this especially is considered the responsibility of the owner.

Usually the owner of a canoe does do most of the work on the hull. It may happen, however, that because of special circumstances all the work is left to be done by other members of his paneyney. Nevertheless, he will still remain the recognized owner, and the canoe will always be spoken of as his property rather than his paneyney's. In the fall of 1947, several young men who had initiated the building of canoes decided to go to Ponape to work for wages. The canoes were ostensibly being built for the canoe races that were planned for the coming New Year celebration. In accordance with custom it had been decided that since there were few canoes on the island every paneyney that wished to enter one in the races would have to build a new canoe. This is one means of encouraging canoe building during a shortage. Since the paneyneys in which canoes had been started by men now absent needed new ones and wished to participate in the races, construction was carried on by the rest of the paneyney. These canoes were entered in the races by other members but in the names of the owners.

The qualities of a canoe are more important than the skill with which it is sailed. Those men who are outstanding in sailing technique receive recognition for their ability, but such recognition is definitely secondary to that given for the racing qualities of the canoes.

This overshadowing emphasis on the canoe is illustrated by the controversy over the part Jonoton's canoe played in the races. Jonoton of paneyney twenty-nine had built the canoe, and he himself sailed it in the first heat. There was a canoe in the second heat that was known to be faster than his. It was decided by his paneyney that his father Jemej should sail the canoe in this heat, because, although over fifty years old and crippled, Jemej is one of the best sailors on Mokil. Through clever handling Jemej outmaneuvered the other canoe which was owned and sailed by a young man named Apiner of paneyney thirty-three. Although the results of the heat were allowed to stand, Jemej and Jonoton underwent so much criticism for substituting an older and more experienced sailor to handle Jonoton's inferior craft that they withdrew from further competition. Canoe racing is a young man's sport, but it is recognized that the older men although less active are much more skilful sailors.

The building of a fine sailing canoe is thought of as the achievement of one man regardless of the amount of help received in its construction. This is also the case in raising large taro. Nevertheless, in these two types of supposedly individual work, as in all other forms of work on Mokil, cooperation plays an important part.

COOPERATION WITHIN THE PANEYNEY

Just as the paneyney organization is the basic unit of the social and economic structure, cooperation is the fundamental pattern in which the society functions. The closest cooperation and the highest degree of integration can be found within the paneyney. Ideally, everyone in the paneyney is working for the common good of the group and everyone is sharing alike in the fruits of mutual labor. The Mokil ideal of a stable and well integrated paneyney is one in which the father is the active head and is still sufficiently vigorous to do his own work and direct the work of his sons. It is important that he have a good head for "making business." The paneyney head is ultimately responsible for the welfare of its members. He is expected to exert his authority so that the group will operate as an efficient unit. The degree to which such close integration is achieved varies with every paneyney on the island.

The paneyney head controls all of the coconut land including that brought in as dowry by his wife and his sons' wives. As mentioned before, his intentions as to the ultimate division of this land among his sons remain unrevealed until old age, by which time he will know which son most closely approximates his standards for industry, reliability and the possession of a good head for "making business."

Taro land is distributed among the sons when they reach maturity, most generally when they marry. It is important for the sons to have some degree of independence, and this can be attained if they have taro land. Taro land given to the daughters as dowry leaves the paneyney with the bride who goes to live with her husband's paneyney. The taro land given to the sons, however, is still under the control of the paneyney head as far as harvesting the taro is concerned. It is understood that the father can even take back this land if he sees fit. The taro land is not the son's property in hard fact until the father dies. Nevertheless, the care of the taro land is the responsibility of the son who has taken it over, although the father will keep a critical eye on its upkeep and output.

Dowry taro land that has been brought into the paneyney by a daughter-in-law is considered definitely her property. No one in the paneyney including the head may touch taro from dowry land without the permission of the owner. In the smoothly operating paneyney, the head plans the use of all the taro on land owned by any member. He will tell his wife on what day they will have taro and from which patch to gather it. His wife will in turn tell the person to whom the designated patch belongs to gather one or more corms of taro.

Copra production is a paneyney enterprise. Everyone is expected to share in the work of producing the copra and everyone is expected to share in the proceeds. In the ideal paneyney, the head will divide the copra money among his adult sons. In practice, this only occurs in a few paneyneys. The heads explain their failure to divide the money by saying that their sons will let the money slip through their fingers. The head has a strong box in which he keeps the copra money along with other prized articles belonging to the paneyney as a whole.

Money made from handicraft properly belongs to the woman who produced the handicraft, and is used for herself and her own family without consulting the general good of the paneyney. However, she may turn all or part of it over to her husband. She may also turn it over to the paneyney head if he is a domineering man.

Copra money is supposed to take care of the needs of the paneyney as a group, and is used to buy food, roofing for their houses and paint for their boats. Cloth to be divided among the women is also bought with copra money although it will be used ultimately by one person, whereas dishes, cups and kitchen utensils are bought by one woman with her handicraft money in spite of the fact that many members of the paneyney will share in their use.

During the period of study, store foods such as rice, flour, and sugar were available only in limited quantities, and consequently were rationed among the paneyneys according to the number to be provided for. The paneyney head was expected to buy all of the store food with the copra money and to divide it fairly

among the various families. Even the most closely integrated paneyneys make a point of carefully dividing store food among the separate families so that there will be no question of inequitable distribution. Rationed store food is seldom cooked collectively. Locally grown foods are shared far more casually among the elementary groups making up the paneyney.

Most of the subsistence foods outside of taro can be gathered without permission of the paneyney head, but if there is a scarcity of one of the other staples, harvesting will also be regulated by him. If a particularly fine pandanus is known to be ripening at a time of relative shortage the paneyney head might say when it is to be picked. The consumption of arrowroot, which is never plentiful, is sometimes similarly regulated. Even in the most cooperative paneyney, bananas are harvested by the person who planted the tree.

Above is a description of the working of the ideal paneyney organization with an indication of some of the deviations. Such organization is never found in a pure form. There are as many variations as there are separate paneyneys. Variations are due to differences in the personnel makeup of the paneyneys, the personalities involved, the interests of the members and the amount and quality of land holdings.

When the division of land was analyzed, percentages were found of those paneyney heads who had already divided their coconut land and taro land. These percentages do not include all of the paneyneys on the island, but only those which were in a position to make such division. For example, Heliton of paneyney thirty-six has only one adopted son twelve years old. In Joaj's paneyney (forty-one) there were only himself, his wife and baby and his mother. A division of land in these cases would be impossible. In the paneyneys in which such division was a possibility it was found that twenty-three per cent of the paneyney heads had already designated how the coconut land was to be distributed among the junior members and seventy-five per cent had divided the taro land.

It was found that within every paneyney the products of the coconut land were freely shared exclusive of the copra money. Only forty-eight per cent divided the copra money among the junior members. Seventy per cent shared their taro among the members. Seventy four per cent of the paneyney heads controlled the activities of the junior members, while fifty per cent of wives of paneyney heads directed the domestic activities of their daughters-in-law. Eighty-five per cent of the paneyneys cooked and ate as one family unit.

Types of Paneyney Organization

Paneyney organizations fit into four general categories. The first type, includes those paneyneys in which the father is still the active head. This most closely approximates the ideal. As the father approaches old age he turns over operation of the paneyney to his eldest son who becomes the acting head. This

second type of paneyney is still well integrated because although the father had indicated how his land is to be divided among his sons and its full use has already been delegated to the future owners he has not actually handed it over to them.

When the father dies the division of the land among the sons becomes a fact. If his sons get along well they may decide to continue living and working together as a partnership paneyney of brothers. In this third type of paneyney organization their families will probably cook separately, harvest their taro separately and may even use the products of the coconut land separately. The copra will still be produced jointly and the proceeds divided among the brothers. In general, the activities of the brothers and their families are independent but there is a close cooperation among them in building houses and canoes and in other activities contributing to the common good.

Partnership paneyneys may be formed perforce when the land holdings of the paneyney would be inadequate if divided and worked separately to provide subsistence for several elementary families. This same amount of land, however, will provide subsistence for the extended family if labor and resources are pooled. It often happens in those cases where land holdings are small that the father requests the brothers not to split up into separate paneyneys at his death. This has great influence in holding such a paneyney together even if the brothers are not congenial. But the major cohesive force of a partnership type of paneyney organization is necessarily built on harmonious relations and a community of interests.

A fourth type of paneyney, a variation of the partnership of brothers, is formed when one of the brothers dies leaving sons to take over his land holdings. The paneyney then becomes a partnership of one or more uncles and one or more nephews. If the son is grown up he will enjoy as much independence as his father had in relation to the paneyney head. If the son of the deceased brother is single he will fall under the control of his uncle to a greater degree than if he were married.[1] If the man who died was older than his brother it is quite likely that his son will come into possession of more land than his uncle owns since ideally the oldest son inherits the most land and the youngest son the least. Nevertheless, the uncle becomes the paneyney head.

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[1]There are few men on Mokil who remain single for long after reaching maturity. Until a man is married he is not considered an independent and responsible adult. As the Mokilese say, "a man is only half a man without a wife." Because of this attitude, coconut land is frequently not given to an unmarried grown son. Furthermore, an unmarried son will live within the paneyney in the role of a boarder rather than as a participating member. Some people will even say of him that he is a "working man" for he possesses few rights in hiw own paneyney. These sentiments may even be applied to a widower with several children unless he should remarry.

The four loose categories into which paneyney types fall are not separate and clear cut, but evolve out of each other. As the father gets older and less active the oldest son takes over control. When the father dies the oldest son becomes actual head and paneyney ties are loosened. It is at the time of the father's death that most new paneyneys are formed. The ties are most attenuated in the fourth type of paneyney; and in all but the first two types any unity which exists is primarily built on congeniality among the members. When there is little congeniality, the instrumentalities holding paneyneys together are the known wishes of the father, paucity of land, or strength of personality of the existing paneyney head.

Type I--Father Active Head

In the first category, Jojten, fifty-five, active head of paneyney thirteen probably has more complete control over the junior members than any other paneyney head on Mokil. The reason for his successful domination is that he has given neither of his adult married sons either coconut or taro land, with the result that they are dependent on others for all their subsistence. Actually Jojten loves his sons and has a strong feeling of responsibility toward them. He is always deeply concerned with their welfare and with the events taking place within their families. When his first grandchild was born to his son Jakaraias, away on Ponape at the time, Jojten was a very proud grandfather. To celebrate the event he gave the biggest kamatip that was held on Mokil during our residence there. He himself saw to the many details of preparation and officiated at the feast.

Of Jojten's two married sons only one is a member of his paneyney. Pensimen the older son is married to the only child of Jek, and at the request of the latter has gone officially to live in his wife's paneyney. In Jojten's paneyney are also included his wife and several of his younger children. Jojten's and Jakaraias' families cook and eat together. Jojten at fifty-five years of age does as much work as ever. He is still one of the best carpenters and boat builders on Mokil. Just as Jojten directs the men's activities, his wife controls the domestic work of herself and her daughter-in-law.

Pensimen who has gone to live with his wife in Jek's paneyney is in an unfavorable position. Since he has no land of his own he is dominated by his father-in-law, and his wife by her mother. Most of the people on Mokil are contemptuous of Pensimen, saying that he is more like a woman than a man since he has neither land nor rights. Pensimen occasionally finds his situation in his wife's paneyney intolerable and leaves his wife to return to his father's paneyney for several weeks at a time. Jojten tries to compensate somewhat for Pensimen's dependence on Jek by giving him copra money from the sale of copra which

Pensimen as his son helped to produce.[1]

There is the same high degree of integration found in Jojten's case in a paneyney where the junior members are adopted sons and their families. Kelen head of paneyney two has no real sons but has adopted two, Weleri and Alpios, both now married. Kelen is vigorous and active at forty-eight. The Mokilese think that Kelen has a particularly good head for "making business." He has not yet promised his coconut land and the taro land which he has given away is still under his jurisdiction. The three elementary families in this paneyney work more independently of each other than the families in Jojten's paneyney although Kelen's wife controls the use of the subsistence foods from the coconut land, and the copra money is kept by Kelen.

Although Lorin of paneyney four is seventy-one years old and approaching the end of his life he is still quite active. He has made known how his land is to be divided between the two married sons living in the paneyney with their wives and children, which means that the sons' permanent status within the paneyney is established. This is one of the few paneyneys in which rationed store foods are not meticulously doled out to each elementary family, but are cooked and shared freely by the three families along with the native subsistence foods. The dominating personality here is not Lorin but his wife Etuina. It is Etuina who holds the paneyney together and assures its smooth functioning, although Lorin keeps the copra money. The dowry taro land and handicraft money is kept and used by the women to whom they belong. Lorin's and Etuina's divorced daughter who has returned to this paneyney keeps her own handicraft money.

There are several men on Mokil who are fathers and active heads of paneyneys, but who are known not to have a good business sense. Are, of paneyney sixteen, a widower of sixty-one, for example, still works his taro patches and helps out with the lighter work such as canoe building and making copra. He is self-assertive and outspoken. One of his recognized faults is his extravagance and addiction to gambling. It seems to be impossible for him to hold on to paneyney funds. His only mature son Anru told his father that it would be better for the paneyney for Are to put the copra money in Anru's keeping. Anru pointed out that Are has reached the age where he no longer does a full day's work, and has to that extent lost his

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[1]It happens frequently that a man will move to his wife's paneyney if she has no brothers, but it does not necessarily follow that he is to be in a completely dependent position there. August's younger brother Aperam joined Alen's paneyney when he married Alen's daughter. But since his paneyney lands were divided at the death of his father he had some land to contribute to his new paneyney. As a result, he has considerable independence within Alen's paneyney and can plan his own work independently of Alen.

right to spend paneyney money for his own amusement. On the strength of these arguments Are permits Anru to keep the money under lock and key which is an unusual concession for a paneyney head. When Are wants money he has to ask Anru for it. At the same time Are makes important decisions for the paneyney, decides on and manages kamatips. So far as the village is concerned, Are is the paneyney head and behaves accordingly at public meeting. He has not yet divided the paneyney land and still has the decisive voice in its cultivation and the use of its products.

Dissension can develop in the first type of paneyney organization if the sons are not congenial. Alipot of paneyney twenty-six a widower of sixty-five years lives with three married sons and their families. Two of the sons Apshaik the oldest and Yamata the youngest have married sisters who are daughters of the rich man Etijon. Etijon's daughters brought as much land into the paneyney in the form of dowry as Alipot himself owned. The second son Yansin married a woman who brought in very little land. Because of this the families of Apshaik and Yamata, which are close, exclude Yansin and his wife from many of their common enterprises. Yansin and his wife live on a piece of land remote from the rest of the paneyney. Alipot has not indicated how his coconut land is to be divided among his sons. Yansin and his family are limited to the use of land belonging exclusively to Alipot for their subsistence, since the land brought into the paneyney by the rich daughters-in-law have never been open to the use of the paneyney as a whole.

When many canoes were being built in the fall of 1947, Yansin also started to build a canoe for the races. While the canoe was being built Alipot was away in Ponape. In his absence Apshaik took over supervision of paneyney activities. When Alipot returned he found that Apshaik and Yamata had given Yansin virtually no help on his canoe. Yansin complained bitterly to Alipot about the lack of cooperation on the part of his brothers, and Alipot reprimanded them. Conditions had not improved among these brothers up to the time that I left Mokil.

It is obvious that the only factor operating to hold this paneyney together is the presence of the father as active head. When the land is apportioned and Alipot dies Apshaik and Yamata will probably go on living together as one paneyney and Yansin will start another paneyney with the poor land holdings of himself and his wife. His status in the community will be low.

The paneyney head may himself cause dissension in his paneyney by showing favoritism to one of his daughters-in-law. Etikar a widower of sixty-five has two married sons living in his paneyney (number thirty-four). Most of his land has not been distributed and the copra money is not divided so that the junior members are completely dependent upon him. His favorite

daughter-in-law Nerli is married to his youngest son Jaimon. Etikar often tells Nerli to plan the meals and generally to take over the handling of the domestic activities. Elita the wife of Etikar's oldest son resents this favoritism. When her husband Ejiel left Nokil to do wage work in Ponape she returned to her father's paneyney to stay until her husband returned. Relative amounts of dowry land played no part in this situation. Nerli comes from one of the poorest and least important paneyneys on the island and she brought no dowry land into the paneyney, whereas Elita did.

Women appear to have little authority within the paneyney. But in practice they play an important part in paneyney management. Sixty year old Oliten is head of one of the strongest paneyneys (number twenty-eight) on the island. He has a good head for "making business" and a reputation for being generous in his treatment of the junior members of the paneyney. He has told his sons what pieces of coconut land each is to receive at his death and has already handed over the taro land. He always divides the copra money among himself and his married sons.

Living with him in his paneyney are two married sons by his present wife Alta and one married son by a former marriage. Alta favors her own sons and has managed to turn Oliten against her stepson, Enter. Enter has been promised the smallest share of coconut land and receives the smallest share of the copra money. Because of Alta's unfriendly attitude, Enter's wife Tora found the situation impossible. When one of Tora's children died late in 1947 she used this event as an excuse for moving away from Oliten's paneyney to her own dowry land which lies adjacent to her father's house site. The reason she gave was that she wanted to be close to her family during her period of mourning. When this excuse was no longer valid she refused to move back because her dowry land was near her child's grave. She obviously did not want to return to the land of her husband's paneyney since this would mean that she would again come under the domination of Alta. Oliten explains Tora's recalcitrance by saying that she is lazy and does not want to do all the work required of her when she lives in his paneyney. This argument is frequently used when a daughter-in-law does not get along with the family, especially by her mother-in-law.

Tepit, the oldest son of Oliten and Alta is fond of his half-brother Enter and has said that as soon as Alta dies he will join forces with him in a single paneyney. In this particular case the amount of land that the wives have brought into the paneyney has nothing to do with the strained situation. Tora brought in slightly more dowry land than Alta. Here again it must be pointed out that neither the amount of land owned by a person nor his blood ties are the only considerations in his relations with others. These factors merely supply the basis for a relationship whereas the personalities involved determine

the nature and the closeness of the tie and even whether a significant relationship will be recognized at all. If a woman is particularly domineering and at the same time has control over the products of a large amount of land she can take over the reins of the paneyney.

Jaulik, the native doctor, is titular head of paneyney seventeen. Almost all of the land in this paneyney is owned by his wife Ana. Because Jaulik had little land he joined his wife's paneyney when they married. Besides their immediate family his wife's stepmother and her stepmother's adopted son now studying in Ponape belong in this paneyney. Jaulik is completely dependent upon Ana where land is concerned. Ana not only owns the land but she has the reputation of being a vixen. They had many domestic tiffs during our stay on Mokil, which although frequent were shortlived. Between quarrels the relations between Jaulik and Ana were warm and friendly. However, when a quarrel occurred Jaulik would go off to distant paneyney land and stay there until the trouble blew over. There are many cases of a wife leaving her husband to return to her father's paneyney during domestic strife and as a prelude to divorce, but in only two cases--Jaulik's and Pensimen's--do the men leave their wives. The situations of these two are somewhat similar.

Jaulik also does far more woman's work than is considered proper for a man, and consequently has little time for man's work. He makes various excuses for this. The one used while we were on Mokil was that his wife was pregnant. Jaulik has retained his dignity by emphasizing his position as the native doctor. He says that he is far too busy to do much work on his land, or to cooperate in building whale boats, canoe tyings, and other cooperative men's work.

Type II--Father Inactive Head

Three paneyneys fall in the second category--that in which the father is old and takes an inactive part in paneyney management. In two of these cases, the heads, Lepen of paneyney fourteen and Opet of paneyney twenty-seven, are approaching senility and so have retired. Luelen, head of the third paneyney (number thirty-two) in this category, has retired because he is a semi-invalid (the local diagnosis is tuberculosis). Lepen the preacher emeritus is a widower said to be over one hundred years old. At any rate, though still able to officiate at the affairs of the church, he is much too old and senile to supervise the activities of the paneyney. Twenty years ago Lepen divided his land among his sons. When his oldest son died, in accordance with tradition, his share of the paneyney land was turned over to his oldest son Ernij, the preacher, to manage, and Lepen's next oldest son Renjila took over the management of the paneyney. The youngest son Likenj is also resident in the paneyney. During Renjila's frequent absences on Ponape, Ernij who is about the

same age as his uncle Likenj acts as paneyney head.

This is for all practical purposes a partnership paneyney held together by the father. As soon as Lepen dies, it is accepted that the paneyney will split up. Each family operates fairly independently of the others. The copra money is divided among the brothers and their nephew Ernij. The products of the coconut land are shared freely. The elementary families cook separately and dispose of their own taro.

When Lepen dies and the time comes for these families to form separate paneyneys trouble is anticipated. About 1942, Renjila gave as dowry land to two of his daughters not land from that which was promised to him but other pieces of the paternal holdings that were supposed to go to his brothers. Renjils is aggressive and indifferent to the rights of his brothers, and he took this land over their protests. The dissension this act has already caused will develop into much strife after Lepen's death.

Opet's paneyney is also held together only because he, the head, is still alive. Opet is one of the oldest men on Mokil and can no longer take an active part in paneyney activities. This paneyney is one of the largest on the island, consisting of his wife Peti and six grown sons, five of whom are married and have children. Conflicts within the paneyney are intense. It is clear that when Opet dies the various families will break up into separate units.

Opet heartily dislikes his oldest son Steven who ideally should be favored over the younger sons so far as amount of authority in the paneyney and expectations of getting land go. This dislike began when Steven was a boy, and by a series of unpleasant incidents[1] has grown into an intense hate. Steven

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[1]Twelve years old--Steven went to Urak with Opet to work on their taro patch. Steven was given the job of fastening the canoe. When they returned they found the canoe had broken loose and had drifted away. While Steven was swimming after it Opet worked himself into a rage at his carelessness. When he returned with the canoe Opet grabbed him by the hair and held him under water for so long that he was only revived with difficulty.

Fifteen years old--One night Steven and Opet went fishing for flying fish. Because Opet did not like the way Steven was holding the torch he threw him into the water which, people say, was teeming with sharks. While Steven was swimming toward the reef Opet tried to catch him with his dip net. The crew of another canoe finally rescued Steven.

Twenty-five years old--Steven had been working in Nauru for some time when Opet arrived to work there. They had a quarrel which developed into a violent physical fight. When Opet got sick later and wanted to return to Mokil he asked Steven to take over his contract and work out his time. Steven refused

has moved away from his home to live on his wife's dowry land. Opet's second son Levai a widower lives in Ponape where he has taken up land. All of Opet's paternal love has been centered on his third son Erin to whom, bypassing Steven, he has delegated control of the paneyney lands and their products. Erin and his family live in comparative splendor in the paneyney frame house located on a choice site near the center of the village. His family gathers food and cooks independently of the rest of the paneyney. The fourth son Esera has gone to Ponape to look for land. It is said that he will soon send for his wife Karlain who is living with Opet and Peti. The fifth son Josep and his family also live with Opet. Kelsin the youngest, twenty-nine years old, is said to be a little crazy; hence he has not married. Kelsin lives with Opet more in the capacity of a boarder than as an active participant in the group.

Most of the paneyney lands were brought in by Peti as dowry. Opet nevertheless controls the distribution of it among his sons. The fact that Peti owns much land and Opet little acts as a check on his continuous abusive treatment of his children. This fact and the fear of public opinion are the only deterrents to the expression of his aggressive feelings against all but his favorite son Erin. Erin feels that because of his favored position he will inherit the bulk of the paneyney lands even though Opet has promised a substantial share to his other sons.

Erin has more complete control over this paneyney than a junior member of any other paneyney on Mokil. He shares only a small amount of the copra money with Steven and even takes it upon himself to make all purchases of store goods for the whole paneyney with the exception of Steven. Steven's sole purpose in moving off the paneyney land was to achieve a greater degree of independence from Erin. After Erin has bought the store goods he keeps them locked up in his own canoe house and doles them out a little at a time to the rest of the paneyney. The younger brothers have frequently complained that he consumes more than his fair share of these goods. The following incidents will serve to show how completely Erin dominates the activities of the other junior members of the paneyney.

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but Alipot volunteered to work out Opet's contract. In appreciation Opet gave Alipot the piece of land that Alipot now uses for a house site.

Thirty years old--The last big fight resulted when Steven did not cut and prepare taro to suit Opet. When Opet complained, Steven first called him names then attacked him with a knife in an attempt to kill him. The fight was stopped by Oliten and Jemej's father.

In the middle of April, 1948, Karolina the wife of Josep, Opet's next to youngest son, went to the Opet land called Lamesh and gathered enough unmang to make one mat. This was done without consulting Erin. Erin was extremely angry and confronted Josep with the act. Josep denied responsibility. He said that Karolina had acted on her own. Obviously Josep is afraid of Erin, and, in fact, it seems that Erin is physically stronger than any of his brothers. Erin, in a rage, went to Lamesh and cut down all the unmang trees. This provoked Steven supported by Josep into a showdown. On the evening of the twenty-seventh they went to Opet with their complaint against Erin specifically and in general with the treatment they had received in regard to the use of paneyney land. Instead of condemning Erin, Opet said that anything Erin wanted to do was right and that he had no use for any of his other sons. He called Steven and Josep every nasty name that he could think of even resorting to English swear words when he ran out of Mokilese. He told both Steven and Josep that all of the land belonged to Erin and that he did not intend to leave any of it to his other sons.

Others heard the fight, Japit in particular, and confirmed Steven's account of the fight. The following day Opet sent for Steven. He was afraid that he had overplayed his hand and that all of the people in the village would be against him. He told Steven that he did not realize it was he that he was talking to the previous evening and that what he said was not true. He said that he did plan to give land to Steven just as he promised several years ago, but that the land would not be divided until he dies. Further he said that he had treated Steven badly and for that reason he did not think Steven should bother to bring food to him or in other ways help him; that even if Steven never gave him anything in the future it would make no difference in Steven's share of the inheritance of the land.

When I was told this by Steven I asked him what he intended to do. He seemed a little confused as to whether or not to continue to give food, but on the question of the division of land he wanted to go to the Civil Administration and force a settlement. In his argument with Opet he had made the point that the Civil Administration could take a hand in forcing Opet to make a proper settlement. This along with the fact that in Japanese times Opet had been forbidden to cut Steven off from his paneyney without land probably set the old man to thinking. Neither he nor Steven have any idea what can be done legally, but the assumption would be that Opet wants to avoid a showdown with the Civil Administration. One of Steven's strongest arguments is that for many years he and his wife have been taking care of Opet and Peti. He brings them food and is always on hand to take part in paneyney work. His wife helps both of them to the toilet since they are too feeble to get about alone. This has been a long and trying campaign on the part of Steven; and the old man probably realises the strength of such action in

bolstering a claim to paneyney land. Quite likely Opet wants to break up Steven's program of assistance. He tries to accomplish this by telling Steven that it would make no difference in terms of inheritance of land. If Steven actually did stop helping Opet, his case would be weakened in the eyes of the people regardless of what Opet might have said. In other cases of land disputes between brothers, the amount of help given by each contender to the parents in their last days is taken into consideration in determining the outcome of the conflict.[1]

Erin's power over the other members of the paneyney is further demonstrated by the fact that he has slept with the wives of all his brothers at one time or another. Steven says that Josep's wife Karolina and Esera's wife Karlain have both had a child by him. Steven says that Erin has also slept with his wife. When asked why the wives permitted these liberties Steven replied that they all know that Erin is a "big" man in the paneyney and that unless they accede to his advances he can make things unbearable for them. To top this, Steven says that Erin is extremely jealous of his own wife and recounts an incident that occurred about ten years ago on a day when the whole paneyney was cutting copra in Manton. Erin happened to be working some distance away when his wife and Karolina asked Josep to get them some green coconuts. They were sitting around drinking pen and laughing and talking when Erin came upon the scene and decided that Josep had just returned from the bush with Erin's wife. He attacked Josep, cutting and bruising his face so badly that Josep was laid up for several days. Steven put an end to the fight before more damage was done.

Type III--Partnership Paneyney of Brothers

The relationship in a partnership paneyney consisting of brothers can be expected to be quite good. An exception to this occurs when the partnership paneyney is held together only because of economic stringencies resulting from inadequate land holdings. Since each family in a partnership paneyney tends to work independently the esprit de corps may not be as great as that found in a paneyney where the father is active head. The reason for the existence of such a paneyney as a single unit is generally because the brothers like each other and work well together. If the brothers cease to get along happily and congenially the organization can be dissolved.

Jemej is head of one of the largest paneyneys on Mokil. Besides himself and his family it includes two of his married brothers, their families and a fourth unit, Jimi and his family. Jimi, who is not a blood relation, is the son of Elije and her first husband Enri. When Elije divorced Enri and married Jemej' father Orlando she brought Jimi with her into the paneyney. Jemej is the son of Orlando by a former marriage. The relationship between Jimi and Jemej is almost the same as that between

[1]Note the case of Jorim and his brothers, pp. 20, 22.

brothers. Jemej' next younger brother Atina has land in Kusaie and spends most of his time away from Mokil. Although Oliter, Jemej' youngest brother, and Jimi are members of the same paneyney they maintain separate households on separate plots of land. The coconut and taro land has been divided. Each family gets its subsistence food from its own land. Breadfruit is harvested jointly and divided equitably. Copra is also produced jointly and the proceeds divided.

The partnership paneyney (number thirty-five) of Tom Alexander is more closely knit than that of Jemej. This paneyney includes three families, those of Baraik and Mosis who are full brothers and that of Tom Alexander their half brother. Tom, being the oldest, is paneyney head. Baraik and Mosis live together near Tom; and their wives do all of their domestic work together. Tom's family has a separate establishment, and his wife does her domestic work independently of Baraik's and Mosis' wives. In this paneyney subsistence and other products are gathered off all the land as though it belonged to one family. Copra money is divided evenly among the three families.

Another close partnership paneyney (number twenty-five) is that of Liui and Paul. These two brothers and their families live together but cook separately. Products of the land are shared; otherwise the two wives are independent of each other. Neither has authority over the other.

In these last three paneyneys, the pressure of land is not forcing the families to live together. In contrast, Jorim of paneyney nineteen is having difficulty with his younger brother Eluet who wishes to leave the paneyney but cannot because Jorim says it was their father's wish that they stay together because of inadequate land holdings.[1]

A similar situation is developing in Jimion's paneyney (number thirty-nine). Jimion and his family have a partnership paneyney with his younger brother Peres and his family. Early in 1948 Peres began to put pressure on Jimion to divide the land so that they could form independent paneyneys. Peres' reason for wanting to separate was that he felt that the main burden of the work fell upon him. Since Jimion is a partial invalid Peres not only felt imposed upon but unappreciated by Jimion. This paneyney is held together by the domination of the older brother and not because of congeniality or paucity of land.

Type IV--Partnership Paneyney of Uncles and Nephews

A partnership paneyney in which the uncle is the head can function as smoothly as one consisting solely of brothers. Alen and his nephew Belep have continued a partnership paneyney that was operating as such when Belep's father Etimon was alive.

[1] See pp. 30, 22 for a fuller account of this problem.

Etimon, Alen's older brother, originally headed the paneyney. At his death Alen took over direction of the paneyney, and Belep inherited his father's land. Belep's status in the community is higher than that of any of the men who are living as younger brothers in a partnership paneyney. Everybody treats him as a person independent from Alen. People do not lump them together in the various cooperative enterprises as they do the members of other paneyneys.

Belep and his family, including his mother, Lora, live in a large frame house that is owned by the paneyney. When Etimon was alive he, as the older brother and paneyney head, lived in the best quarters that the paneyney owned as a matter of course. Belep inherited this prerogative from him. Living in a frame house in itself gives Belep prestige. Alen lives in another part of the island in a native style house. Alen has no sons of his own, and consequently, when his first daughter Merilain married, he asked that her husband Aperam come to live in his paneyney. Alen also adopted San the son of August who lives with him. Aperam, who is the younger brother of August, brought coconut and taro land into the paneyney. For this reason he is somewhat independent of Alen. Merilain is also independent. Her own mother Naite makes no attempt to direct her activities. San's wife Mesina, however, is under Naite's jurisdiction. Alen's part of the paneyney includes Aperam and San and their families. These three families live together, cook together and share the products of the land. Belep's family is separate in all these respects. In dividing the copra money Alen and Belep get an equal amount. San and Aperam get smaller shares.

The relative statuses of Alen and Belep within the paneyney is so similar that for a long time it appeared to me that Alen had no control at all over Belep's activities. Late in my stay an incident took place which showed that Alen was head of the paneyney in fact as well as in name. Belep was a member of a large cooperative work company in the spring of 1948. When his day came to be host he decided to make a large display of food approaching kamatip proportions for the men who were coming to help him. This decision had been precipitated by an argument he had had with Erin, during the course of which Erin had stated that Belep should not talk so much because he had less taro than Erin. It was only because of public disapproval of competitive kamatips that a contest between the two was averted. Frustrated in this direction Belep decided that the opportunity afforded by the company working for him would give him a chance to show Erin what he could do. He ordered the women of his paneyney to prepare fifty slabs of irrir the main ingredient of which is taro. The day before he was to have the company Alen found out what was going on and told the women to prepare only thirty-five slabs which would still be more than ample. Late in the evening of the day before the company was expected, Belep found this out and became very

indignant saying that he would not even have the company. But it was obvious that this was an impractical solution. The company did meet and only thirty-five slabs of irrir were offered.

Belep, as a mature married man with a family and the son of an oldest brother, is in a favorable position. In uncle-nephew partnership, paneyneys in which the nephew is not married the nephew has practically no independence. His position is about the same as a son in a paneyney in which the father is active head.

The paneyney of Net Benjamin (number fifteen) is small consisting in addition to himself, his wife and children, of only one son and several daughters of his older brother who is dead. Shortly after Net's older brother died his wife Jarina remarried and went to live in Ponape. Her son Enterik, whom she left on Mokil, being unmarried, was put in the position of a dependent in Net's paneyney. If he were married he would have control of the lands belonging to his family, and the paneyney would be a partnership if Net and Enterik so wished. Similarly it would operate like a partnership paneyney if his mother had remained in the paneyney, since it is recognized that a woman is capable of handling her own lands.

In contrast to Enterik's position in Net Benjamin's paneyney, fourteen year old Simit of Kiristoba's paneyney (number ten) assumes many of the responsibilities and privileges reserved for the head of a family. As a matter of fact, he enjoys more independence than many married sons in paneyneys in which the father is active head. In some respects he is treated like a younger married brother in a partnership paneyney. Simit's father Aimoj was Kiristoba's younger brother. He was killed on Ponape by falling out of a coconut tree in the year 1946. Aimoj' widow Lujia and her children remained in Kiristoba's paneyney. Lujia, Simit and her younger children maintain a separate household, cook separately and use taro exclusively out of her own taro patch. All of the coconut land is in Kiristoba's name, but the products of the land are shared with the exception of subsistence foods of which there might be a seasonal scarcity. The copra is harvested communally and the copra money is divided, Lujia getting a smaller share than Kiristoba.

Simit has the responsibility of making the store purchases for Lujia's household. At the time when the store was reorganized as a community venture each able-bodied man was expected to buy at least one five dollar share. When Kiristoba bought shares for his paneyney he bought one for Simit as well as for himself. This is the only case on Mokil of a young unmarried boy having the responsibility and the status of the head of a family. Simit takes his responsibilities seriously. He never

plays with boys of his own age and is usually found taking part in adult occupations.

COOPERATION BETWEEN PANEYNEYS.

The type of cooperation found within the paneyney is characterized by an intimacy and closeness similar in many respects to that found in elementary families. The members think of themselves as belonging to the same family and help each other on that basis. This type of cooperation is strongest within the paneyney but also extends beyond its limits. Certain paneyneys, held together in most cases by ties of blood and marriage, help each other on an informal basis of need. A balance in exchange of labor and goods is approximated but no effort is made to keep a close accounting of how much labor is given or received. A man who has helped a paneyney to which he is allied knows that the work will some day be returned; but the obligation is not specific as to amount, type or time of return. When asked about such cooperation he will explain it by saying that he was helping his "paneyney". Paneyney in this sense is a term used to include the various people for whom he feels a family bond but nevertheless live outside his own economic and social unit.

Data for Determining Bonds Between Paneyneys

An important part of this study was to determine the basis of this particular form of cooperation. For this purpose three groups of data were gathered:

Group I--Exchange of Christmas Presents.[1] These data were based on information given by the head of each paneyney[2] in Mokil concerning presents exchanged with other paneyneys on Christmas, 1947. Each informant ranked the paneyneys he included on his list according to the strength of their attachments with his paneyney, and gave reasons for each attachment.

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[1]With the exception of a few special articles given to the children at the Christmas tree party in the church, food is the only type of Christmas present given on Mokil. For several days before Christmas everyone on the island is busy preparing special Christmas delicacies to be given as presents. Large quantities of taro, bananas, arrowroot and other subsistence foods that may be available are the ingredients for a wide variety of dishes. On Christmas morning, shortly after dawn, the women of every paneyney on the island can be seen carrying these presents of food here and there to their relatives and friends. A Christmas gift is generally presented in the name of one whole paneyney to another paneyney. Occasionally, an individual member of a paneyney may have a specific outside obligation and give his present separately. Even in these cases, the food is prepared by the whole paneyney and the quantity of food this individual can give is governed by the whole paneyney.

[2]This information was not obtained from George Higgins (number

Group II--Inter-Paneyney Cooperation. This information was also obtained from the paneyney heads.[2] Each was asked to list the paneyneys that gave him the most help. Again, each informant ranked the paneyneys he named, this time according to the degree of cooperation he felt existed between them and his paneyney, and stated a reason for including each one.

Group III--Observed Cooperation Between Paneyneys. These records are the result of my observations of the men, women and children who actually worked together on specific jobs involving the help of more than one paneyney. These data include the names and paneyney affiliations of groups of workers engaged in copra cutting, canoe tying, whale boat building, house building, mat making, etc.

Christmas presents are generally exchanged in an accepted order. It is said that a paneyney which has received land such as dowry land, land given for adoptions, land for services, etc., usually presents its gift first to the paneyney from which the land was received. Sisters give first to brothers, younger brothers to older brothers, younger sisters to older sisters, nephews to uncles. Certain paneyneys between which the ties are particularly strong can be depended upon to exchange presents every Christmas and do not always adhere strictly to the correct order of giving. As a matter of fact, some paneyneys try to give their presents first in a sort of competition, but even in these cases the conventional order for giving is well known. Other more loosely tied paneyneys may not exchange presents every Christmas. Where these are concerned the paneyney that should receive a present first waits to see what the other paneyney will do. If in such a case a present is given, its size will be taken into consideration in determining the size of the present to be returned.

It is said that a man who makes a return gift will give a little more than he has received. Actually this is not done. In a few cases where it was admitted that there was a difference in size of the presents exchanged the reason for the disparity had to do with the comparative wealth of the two paneyneys involved.[3]

Analysis of Inter-paneyney Bonds

In an effort to isolate and to eliminate errors in

twenty-two), or Titirik Piter (number thirty-eight) since these paneyneys were not living in Hokil at the time of this study. Also, because Joseph Belep's family (number forty) is not treated as a true paneyney (see p. 14) his affiliations were not considered significant for this purpose.

[2]See footnote 2, opposite page

[3]For example, Jouab, the richest man on the island, gave more to his relative William Luta than he received from him. When asked the reason for this, Jouab said in the presence of William and others, much to William's embarrassment, that he always gave more to him because William liked "food too much" and did not have much land.

recording, all the data gathered on Christmas present exchange and inter-paneyney cooperation were plotted on the same chart. All the paneyneys were arranged on the chart horizontally and vertically in numerical order from one to forty-one so that in the body of the chart each paneyney crossed each other paneyney once.[1] At each point of intersection entries were made of the independent attitudes of each paneyney toward the other, first as regards exchange of Christmas presents and second as regards the closeness with which the two worked together throughout the year. By this device it was found that there were seventy-three cases of reciprocal inter-paneyney bonds of primary importance. These seventy-three cases were then analyzed as to the expressed reasons--always explained in terms of kinship--for the various inter-paneyney ties as given by the respective informants. These were then checked with kinship bonds that were known to exist. For example, in the relationship between Kelen of paneyney two and Heliton of paneyney thirty-six it was found that each placed the other high on his lists both of Christmas present exchange and cooperation. The reasons given were that Kelen's adopted son had married Heliton's adopted daughter and further that Heliton's former wife had been the sister of Kelen's wife. Kelen placed Are of paneyney sixteen further down on each list although Are is the brother of Kelen's wife and also is the real father of a son who has been adopted by Kelen. Several of the Mokilese have told me that it is not proper for Heliton and Kelen to work closer together than each works with members of other more closely related paneyneys such as Are and Oliper (paneyney number one) Kelen's own brother.

In general it was found that out of the seventy-three significant ties the father-daughter relationship was by far the most common reason given for a tie. Forty-four per cent of the ties were between married daughters and fathers. The second most common ties--fifteen per cent--were wives to brothers. Ties between brothers and those based on adoptions were found to occur equally frequently amounting to ten per cent for each type. The only other type of tie that was at all frequent--seven per cent--was that between uncles and nephews; and in each case both the uncles and the nephews were heads of their respective paneyneys. Fourteen per cent of the close bonds between paneyneys were based on other types of kinship ties. These, however, were too isolated to be of value in this analysis. It is to be understood that all these ties are ties between whole paneyneys and not between isolated individuals.

It will be noted that the inter-paneyney kinship ties in terms of frequency roughly parallel the degree of integration found in the four types of paneyney organization as follows:

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[1]For a simplified version of the master chart, see Figure VII.

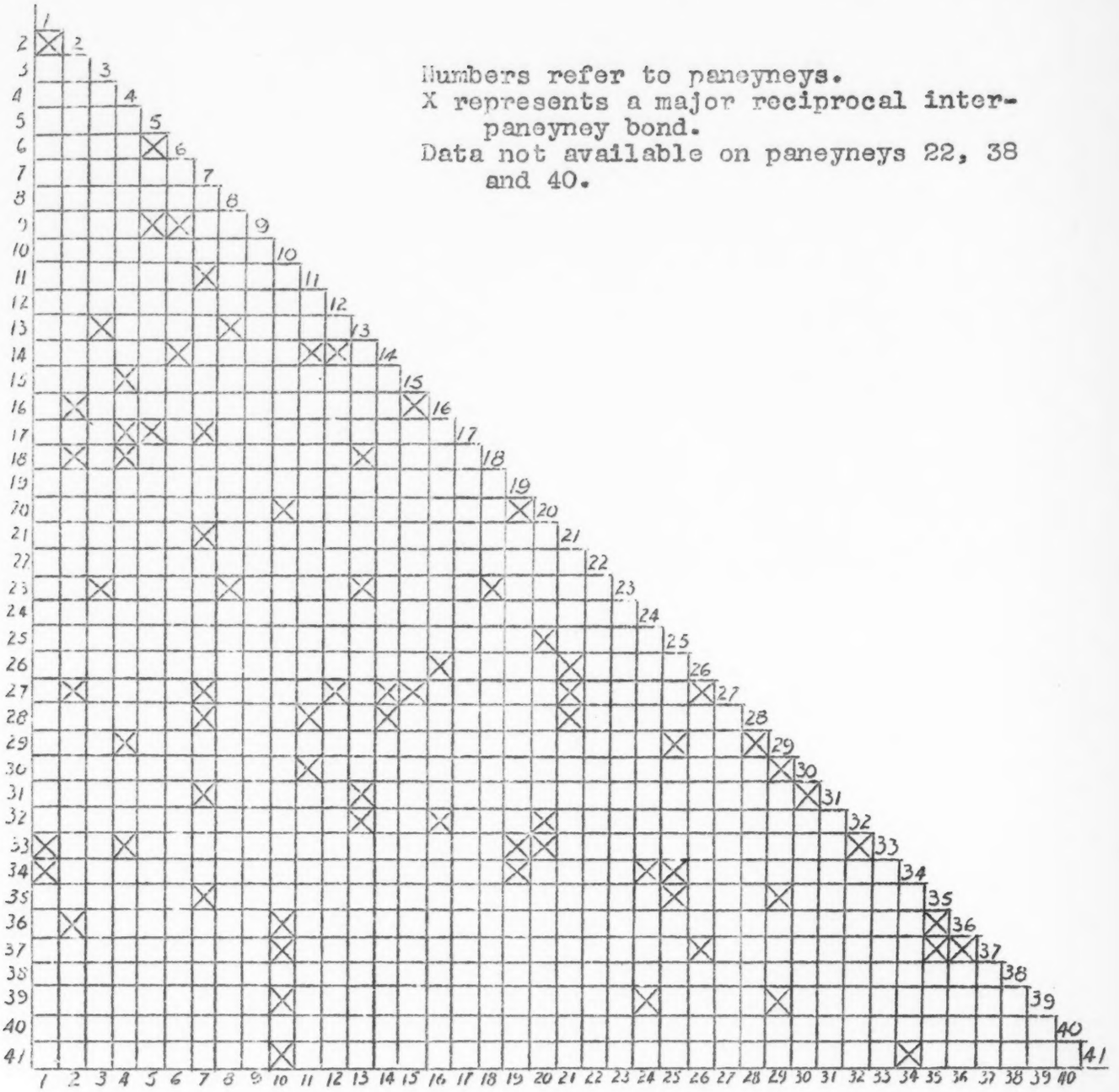


FIGURE VII

CHART OF RECIPROCAL INTER-PANEYNEY BONDS

TABLE IX

PARALLEL BETWEEN INTER-PANEYNEY BONDS
AND TYPES OF PANEYNEY ORGANIZATION

Frequency of Types of Inter-Paneyney Bonds	Type of Paneyney Organization
44% Father-daughter relationship	Type I--Father Acting Head Type II--Father Inactive Head
15% Sister-brother relationship 10% Brother-brother relationship	Type III--Partnership Paneyney of Brothers
7% Uncle-nephew relationship	Type IV--Partnership Paneyney of Uncles and Nephews

Sixty-two per cent of the seventy-three close ties were found to exist between a wife's paneyney of birth and her paneyney of marriage. In forty-four per cent, the wife's father was still living which would lead one to expect a close tie. In fifteen per cent, the father had died and the brother had become head of her paneyney of birth. In two out of seventy-three cases the father's brother had become head upon her father's death but the tie still remained strong.

In discussing these types of integration within paneyneys it was pointed out that there were two kinds of partnership paneyneys, that composed of brothers and, more rarely, that composed of uncles and nephews. It was said that these types of paneyney organization were much more loosely knit than those in which the father was still living and that such alliances were based primarily on congeniality, although other factors could enter in. In those cases in which the brothers and/or uncles and nephews set up separate paneyneys after the death of the head the ties continued between them, acting as the basis for strong inter-paneyney cooperation. Just as partnership paneyneys between brothers can be expected to be more closely integrated than those between uncles and nephews, in the same way bonds between paneyneys headed by brothers can be expected to be more frequently recognized than those between uncles and nephews. These are the kinship ties that do hold paneyneys together, but it must be kept in mind that the same ties can be and often are ignored for all practical purposes. If brothers or uncles and nephews heartily dislike each other, there may be a minimum of cooperation between their paneyneys. Kinship is the basis upon which cooperation between paneyneys can be supported but congeniality is a strong modifying factor.

By checking the seventy-three close bonds between paneyneys indicated on the chart, with the records of observed cooperation it was found that these bonds actually did play a dominant role in determining what paneyneys worked together.

Pattern of Cooperation Between Paneyneys

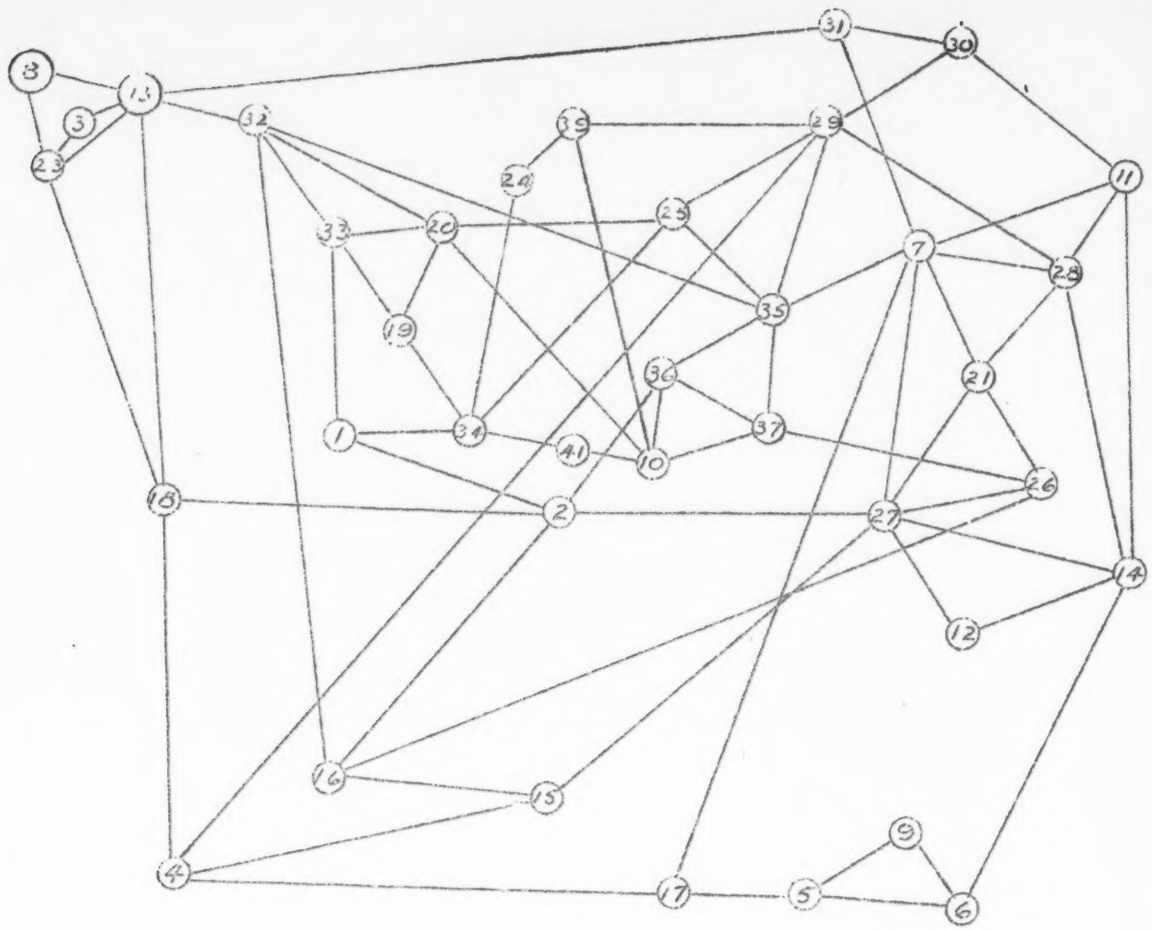
In addition to finding out why paneyneys worked together an effort was made to determine whether there was any definite pattern of cooperation between paneyneys. Early in the study it became clear that certain paneyneys tended to pool their labor resources, but it was difficult to discover whether any closed cliques existed and whether some paneyneys were comparatively isolated and had to more or less work by themselves. Analysis of the seventy-three cases of inter-paneyney bonds of major importance shows that there is no paneyney on the island that is isolated. Every paneyney has two or more other paneyneys with which it is closely allied and with which it exchanges labor and goods with a casualness and intimacy similar to the relations within an elementary family.

To understand more clearly the extent to which paneyneys are interrelated in terms of cooperation, all of the reciprocal inter-paneyney bonds of major importance that had been recorded on Figure VII were plotted in the form of a sociogram.[1] Lines between paneyney numbers on this sociogram represent such reciprocation. It will be noted that there are no closed cliques. Within this complex pattern certain triangles and squares emerge indicating relatively close interaction among the paneyneys in these groups. Here again, the groups are not completely exclusive. In almost every case each paneyney represented in one of these groups has a tie with one or more paneyneys outside.

The seventy-three cases represented in the sociogram, selected for closeness of interaction, indicate only in part the degree to which paneyneys are interrelated and the extent to which they work with each other. The complexity shown on this sociogram is really a simplification of the existing situation. Actually a certain amount of interaction goes on between all the paneyneys on the atoll. This complexity of interaction between paneyneys is one of the reasons why there is a constant shifting of loyalties in the various disputes that arise between paneyneys. A man who is close to a certain paneyney may not always back the members of that paneyney in every argument if he also has alliances with other paneyneys involved in the same dispute. This tends to limit the amount of factionalism that might otherwise develop in a small community. In political as well as social issues paneyneys tend to take sides depending upon where their interests lie in the particular issues involved.

For example, on Figure VIII reciprocal bonds are shown between number eleven, King August's paneyney, number seven, Alen's paneyney and number twenty-eight, Oliten's paneyney. In a communitywide argument over the handling of the funds of the store King August backed up Jouab of paneyney thirty with whom he has a strong reciprocal bond. In every public meeting in which this issue was discussed Alen and Oliten along with a number of others took sides against August and Jouab. The

[1] See Figure VIII.



Diagrams below have been extracted from main sociogram to show patterns of bonds.

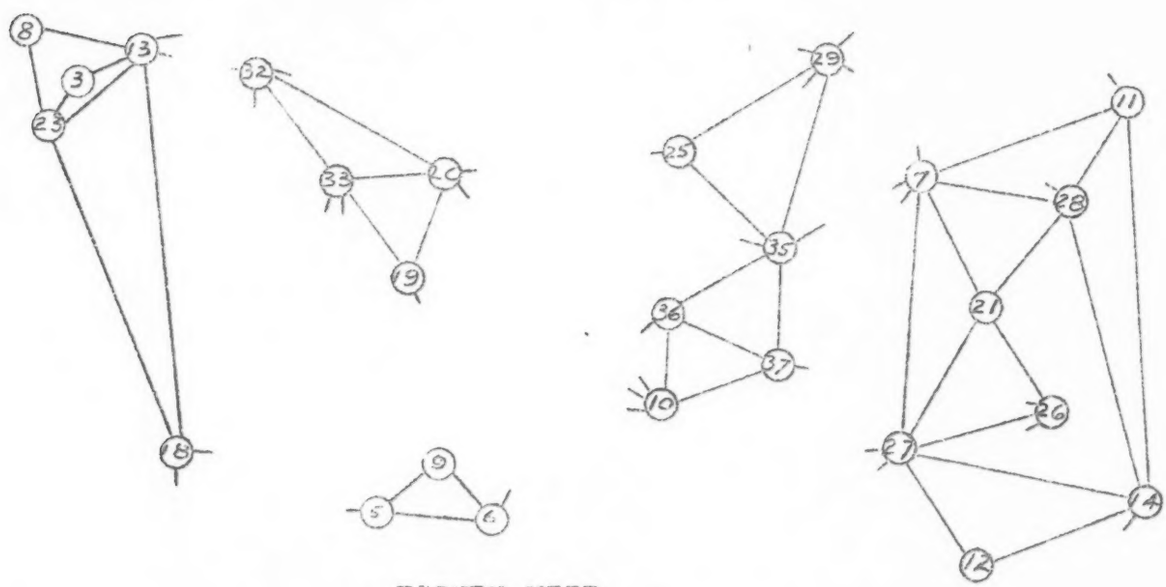


FIGURE VIII

SOCIOGRAM OF RECIPROCAL INTER-PANEYNEY BONDS

Numbers refer to paneyneys.
Lines represent reciprocal inter-paneyney bonds of major importance.
Data not available on paneyneys 22, 38 and 40.

relations between Alen and Jouab became strained for many weeks. Alen and August are too closely related by various kinship ties for such a disagreement to have a lasting effect. The close interchange between the two latter paneyneys continued throughout this difference between the heads.

In addition to the fact that every paneyney has divided loyalties and can be influenced into taking sides by particular interests, feelings vacillate between paneyneys. A member of one paneyney may have an argument with a member of a closely tied paneyney resulting in a coolness in the relations between the two paneyneys as a whole.

There is a strong reciprocal relationship between Are's paneyney (number sixteen) and Kelen's paneyney (number two). Normally they work closely together. But when Are became angry with his son Alpios who had been adopted by Kelen, a temporary coolness spread throughout the two paneyneys. Are criticized Kelen's whole paneyney pointing out that it worked more closely with more distantly related paneyneys than it did with Are's. This discord put a strain on the personal relations between the two paneyneys by the gossiping campaign started by each paneyney against the other.

Although disagreements between related paneyneys may become serious and cause permanent rifts, they are usually quickly patched up. The pattern composed by inter-paneyney alliances as illustrated in the Sociogram is in fact comparatively stable. One of the outstanding characteristics of relations between paneyneys is the readiness with which the people involved will get into disagreements resulting in unequivocal condemnations. By the next day or in an even shorter interval the relations may be as friendly as ever between the contenders. The relationship is generally too stable to be permanently injured, just as a relationship between two brothers will usually survive intense disagreements.

COOPERATION NOT BASED ON PANEYNEY AFFILIATIONS

Cooperation within the paneyney and between closely related paneyneys gives stability to the economic and social position of every person on the island. However, cooperation is not limited to persons who are closely related. A great deal of work is exchanged on other grounds than kinship and at some time or other involves everyone on the island. Labor that is exchanged between people who are not closely related is much more formal in the sense that help is given with the strict understanding that work of the same kind will be returned at a time that is specified by the man to whom the work is owed.

There are three kinds of labor exchange not based primarily on kinship ties. One, called "sawash," refers to volunteer work in which a person may help another when he himself has little work of his own. In the second type of labor exchange a number

of people contract to join forces for the purpose of giving and receiving help on specific jobs. The group, called "company" makes a verbal agreement to work one or two days for each member. Companies may be composed of from two[1] to over thirty people. The third type is called "district work." This is not strictly labor exchange but is in reality public work done cooperatively for the benefit of the whole community.

Sawash

Sawash that occurs between people who are not related carries the specific obligation that the work must be returned. Sawash is also given to people who are related. In this case, the obligation is much more vague. The work does not necessarily have to be returned in the same amount or at a specific time set by the person to whom it is owing.

With the exception of district work and thatching of canoe houses, food is always provided in labor exchange by the man who is receiving the help. Food is an important part of cooperative labor, and for some people becomes the most important consideration. This is particularly true of canoe tyings.

Help received in canoe tyings is supposed to be entirely on a sawash level. However, it was observed that in addition, close relatives almost invariably help out. Although many different kinds of labor are exchanged on a sawash basis, canoe tying has been selected for purposes of illustration.

During the fall of 1947, over twenty canoes were built. This emphasis on canoe building was made to relieve a current shortage and to prepare for the New Year's regatta. When a canoe tying is in the offing the women of the paneyney of the owner and some women from related paneyneys spend the day before preparing the large quantity of food that is to be served. The owner of the canoe and other male members of his paneyney spend part or all of the previous night fishing to insure an adequate supply of fish. On the morning of the canoe tying the men usually appear around eight o'clock. Some of the older men drop in later in the day to eat a snack and tell a few lies; but most of the men come early and stay until the outrigger is attached.

In spite of the fact that five or six are adequate, there were between twenty and thirty men at every canoe tying. There

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[1] Able of paneyney eleven and Lanka of paneyney twenty-three present an example of a company of only two men. They made an agreement for Lanka to help Able saw boards for a house. In exchange for this, Able was to return an equivalent amount of labor. The strict nature of the contract held in spite of only two people being involved.

is no time throughout the day when all the men are working. A few are always sitting around gossiping and eating the food that is on display. However, they all work from time to time as there is an informal rotation of workers in the labor that is done.

This unnecessarily large number of workers means that the host has to prepare much more food than would otherwise be required. Also he is constrained to provide food for the workers far in excess of the needs of the day. This excessive display of generosity is made so that people will speak highly of the host. The surplus is divided up and taken home by the workers. It is uncertain as to whether canoe tyings are exchanges of labor or exchanges of food. The men enjoy canoe tyings as one of the more social events on Nokil. Many men have complained that they "lose too much" when they have a canoe tying. By this they mean that they give away a lot of food for a small return in labor.

Some men have a reputation for joining in cooperative work on a sawash level for the food that is provided rather than for the exchange of labor. One of the most clear cut examples of this is to be found in the case of Steven of paneyney twenty-seven. Steven is a poor man since he has broken off from his paneyney to the extent of setting up a household on the dowry land of his wife. Out of a total of eighteen canoe tyings of which lists were made of the workers who attended, Steven appeared at twelve. According to the accepted pattern, therefore, at least twelve men were obligated to help Steven in work of a similar nature for which food would be provided. When the time arrived for Steven to tie the outrigger on a small canoe that he was building he chose the twenty-fifth of November on which to do this work. This being a district work day, none of the able bodied men on the island were free to help in private work. Only two men--his brother and his son--came to help Steven. For this help he paid their fine of fifty cents a piece for being absent from district work. For several weeks after, this behavior was a favorite topic for gossip. Some men were amused, some were angry, that Steven had used this subterfuge to avoid preparing food for those who owed him work. The men said that he had taken advantage of them by eating their food at their canoe tyings and not giving them a chance to eat his food. It is true that if Steven had to provide the great amount of food required for a large work party the food supply of his own family would be seriously impaired.

Food is definitely an important element in the exchange of work. If a man should fail to make a generous offering of food he would be criticised. However, it is not proper for the helpers for the day to express undue interest in the food or in any way to indicate that they have joined the work group because of the food that will be offered.

Companies

The company type of organization of cooperative work is a recent innovation on Mokil. A similar type of organization called "minimin" began to develop on Ponape in 1924. According to Bascom,[1] this was a spontaneous grass roots development which was encouraged by the Japanese. It was at about this time that the idea of companies came to the Mokilese. They believe that the idea was original with themselves and was not introduced from Ponape. However, in view of the close contact known to exist between the two islands, this is probably a result of diffusion from Ponape. Whatever its origin, this system of cooperative work has become an integral part of the culture of both islands.

There are two types of work recognized on Mokil. One is called "small work" and refers to lighter jobs that may require skill but do not involve back-breaking toil. Such work includes whale boat building, canoe tying and copra cutting. "Big work" refers to jobs requiring many hours of heavy labor to complete. There are only three specific tasks in this second category: digging taro pits, sawing logs into boards and building wharves. Big work is nearly always done by companies of men.

In the formation of a company it is understood that every member is required to contribute at least one day of labor to each of the other members. If a member should fail to fulfill his obligations to anyone in the company he is required to pay a fine of fifty cents to that person. It is suspected that the penalty is theoretical and is seldom invoked. Not a single case of a penalty actually being paid came to my attention in ten months. If it should happen that a member of the company could not work on a certain day he may send as substitute someone else who either belongs to his paneyney or who owes him a day's work on a different basis.

During the period of observation it was found that all of the men's companies were formed for the purpose of digging taro pits and sawing wood. It was quite permissible to interchange these two types of labor. In other words, some members may have the company dig a taro pit and others may have the same company saw wood. When a company is formed the men agree not only as to how many days they will work for each member but also which days of the week they will devote to it. Company work is never done on Wednesdays or Saturdays because these are both half-holidays. Occasionally one or more outside men will join a company for a day. In answer to inquiries, I was told that these men were working for one day on a sawash basis. Although this is not a common practice, sawash labor can be mixed in with company labor. Company labor is generally such hard work that a man who joins the company for a day will generally do so because the host is closely related to him.

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[1] Op. cit., p. 163.

When companies are formed the men try to work with those people who are closely related and also with men who have reputation as hard and competent workers. However, there is no way of excluding others. After a company is formed, anyone who wishes may join. For example, in January, 1947, a company was formed with only fourteen members. Two months later this same company had increased to thirty-one members. Some of the men that joined later without invitation had particularly heavy jobs planned. Jeji of paneyney thirty was one who joined, after the company was formed, for the purpose of having the members dig a new taro pit on Manton. The water level at his site was about ten feet below the surface of the ground. Many of the men complained that they would have to work much harder for him than they would for anyone else in the company. Some of those who had already received their day of company work before Jeji joined and were consequently not specifically obligated to him dropped out on his day. Since Jeji had not worked for these men they felt that they had no obligation either to work for him, or pay him the fifty cent penalty.

Although the original contract involves an agreement that everyone in the company is to work for everyone else the principle of individual exchange of labor present in sawash still holds good. No man need work for anyone who has not worked for him. He can and often does drop out on the day when the company is due to work for such a man.

In general, the person who has incurred the obligation to work for someone by joining a company must fulfill this obligation to everyone who has actually given him a day's work, either by working himself, substituting another person for the day or paying a fine of fifty cents. While it is common for men to join a company after it has been operating for several weeks it is unusual for a man to miss a company day regardless of what the work is and who it is for. He drops out for a day only when he feels that he is being taken unfair advantage of and never merely because the work is particularly hard or unpleasant.

As has been pointed out before there is a great deal of variation in the competence and industriousness of the men on Mokil. Nevertheless, it is considered rude and improper for a man to criticize another because he has not done his share of the work. Loafing on the job is a source of considerable dissatisfaction among some of the men especially in company work. A solution to the problem of getting the same amount of work from all the participants was arrived at during my stay on Mokil. Until late in 1947 everyone involved in company work was merely expected to work all day for each man. No assessment was made of the work anyone actually accomplished. Early in 1948 several of the young men arrived at a plan which soon was adopted by all the men. It was decided that in sawing wood, for example, each man must saw seven boards as his share of the work. As soon as he had finished his seven boards he could quit for the day.

In digging taro pits it was agreed that regardless of how deep they must dig to reach water level each man must dig out an area of three by nine feet. Here again as soon as a man completed his work he could pick up his tools and go home. This arrangement brought a competitive element into company work and, in effect, resulted in a "speed up" system of the most gruelling nature. The men as well as the women are industrious of necessity, for the business of making a living is hard and incessant. But in this ceaseless round, time is the least important element. Work has at least the appearance of being carried on at a leisurely pace. Nor is there a clear cut distinction between work per se and social life. No man thinks of a day's work as consisting of so many hours that must be put in at a task in which he has no personal interest. He is usually working in the company of friends or relatives; and a lot of time is spent simply visiting and enjoying their company. In this respect work on Mokil resembles a corn husking bee or similar activity in our society. The contrast is extreme between this tempo and the "speed-up" system--a definite amount of work to be done in the shortest possible time--introduced into the company with its intensely competitive atmosphere.

Normally a man will start preparing for the serious work of the day shortly after daybreak by doing his daily chores. The hours between eight and five are thought of as the actual work day. On February 19, 1948, however, the day the company worked on Jeji's taro pit, Tepit of Oliten's paneyney and San of Alen's paneyney started work on the taro pit at four o'clock in the morning. Later in the day Tepit's father Oliten who was not a member of the company helped both Tepit and San finish their shares. As a result these two were through by noon. The rest of the company worked as usual until about five o'clock.[1]

The practice of organizing companies is not restricted to the men. Women form companies to do cooperative work and also children in imitation of their elders. Companies are never composed of both men and women, nor of both boys and girls. Children begin to form companies at the age of ten. The adults look on this activity as mere play and do not take it seriously. Any of the boys and girls who happen to be members of a company may work for no longer than an hour before they decide that they are not having fun and quit. Or perhaps when a company day arrives they may decide that they do not feel like working and fail to appear. At this age no penalty is invoked for non-attendance. In spite of their apparently casual nature,

[1] If a man is particularly slow and does not finish by five o'clock he knocks off anyway. A certain amount of social pressure in the form of ridicule is brought to bear in these cases.

children's companies actually get much work done, and the children take pride in the work accomplished. The usual type of work done by children's companies is gathering grass for taro patches, bringing in fresh coral gravel for yards and brushing out the coconut plantations. There was even one case of a company of boys all in their early teens digging a taro pit.

Women form companies for making mats, clearing land and gathering humus for new taro patches. All these activities are more or less considered women's work. Companies are never formed by men to do such work. However, if a paneyney has decided to clear its own land rather than to call in a company the men as well as the women of the paneyney will pitch in. If a women's company is scheduled to gather humus for a new taro patch or clear land, occasionally a man whose wife is pregnant or otherwise indisposed may attend as her substitute and work with the women. This is considered quite proper.

By far the largest number of women's companies are formed for making handicraft. Women's companies formed for this purpose are usually somewhat more exclusive than companies formed by men. An analysis of the companies of women doing handicraft during this study showed a tendency for women who are related, or, if not related, who are close neighbors to work together. Each member of the company can decide which type of handicraft she wants the company to make on her day. As a result a company may one day make hats, another day they may make mats or belts.

It is also permissible for women's companies to mix types of work. On different days the same company may clear land, gather humus and make mats. Occasionally companies may split up into smaller units on the same day, one to clear land, and another to make mats for the same member. The payment of a penalty for not attending was never mentioned in connection with women's companies but nevertheless the obligation was more specific than in other types of women's cooperative work exchange.

Cooperation within the paneyney is on a very informal level with no attempt being made to keep an account of how much work is given and how much received. In work exchange between paneyneys it is found that the obligation is a little more specific and that though here again the work is given on the basis of need the expectation is that it will be sometime returned. In work that is exchanged on a sawash level between unrelated persons the obligation becomes more concrete. The person who has received the help is expected to return the same amount of work at a time designated by the person to whom it is owed. Up to this point the obligations are merely implicit. If a man is unscrupulous little can be done to force him to fulfill his side of the bargain. On the level of company cooperation, the obligation is not only more specific but a

man can theoretically be forced to pay a fine if he does not live up to his contract.

District Work

The obligation in district work is the most binding of all. Every able-bodied man between sixteen and fifty-five must contribute two days of labor a month to the district. The only alternative is to pay a fine of fifty cents for each day. Credit is never extended when it is a question of paying a fine. On a district work day any man who decides that he would rather work for himself must go to the treasurer and pay the fifty cents then and there.

District work, called "k*taykia," is done on or about the fifteenth and the twenty-fifth of each month, and is a form of taxation. The men usually do such work as construction of public buildings or setting markers along the channels in the barrier reef. The women's contribution is to clean up the public paths. Women's public work is not so obligatory as the men's and is not formalized. Every Saturday women can be seen throughout the village cleaning their house lots and tidying the paths.

On a day set aside for district work the people gather at about eight o'clock in the morning at the public meeting house. The King, secretaries and members of the Ten Man Council enter the meeting house while the rest of the men sit around outside and talk. When the details are settled the executive body emerges from the meeting house and tell the men what work has been planned for the day.

The attitudes of the people toward district work are varied. Some of the men feel that it is a burden which has been forced on them. More public spirited men believe that it is a good thing and that it helps to make Mokil a better place to live. Many of those who object to it will try to do as little work as they possibly can. Since most of the men on the island are eligible for district work it is relatively easy for a few to slip off into the bush and sleep. Of those who stay on the job many just go through the motions of working. Considering the man-power involved not much work is accomplished. A number of the more conscientious men led by the King have decried the situation and attempted to reorganize the entire system so that more will be accomplished for the good of the community. As August pointed out in a public meeting, many men accomplish little work on a district work day. As he expressed it, a day's work is lost both to the community and to the man who prefers to spend the day loafing.

The thatching of canoe houses is one type of work that does not fall into any of the categories that have been so far discussed. The people think of thatching as district work, and

justify this opinion by saying that although the canoe houses belong to individual paneyneys, their upkeep is essential to the welfare of the entire community. I was told by several informants that, as in district work, every able-bodied man on the island is required to help in the actual thatching, and furthermore, that every paneyney on the island is required to supply thirty to fifty sections of thatch and ten fathoms of pwel. It was observed, however, that although many men appeared for thatchings not every paneyney was represented.

Contributions of thatch and also of pwel are obligations incurred between individual women of the various paneyneys. These obligations may extend over many years. All the paneyneys keep a written record of the pwel and number of sections of thatch that each woman has contributed. The obligations survive death. If a woman who has received thatch from another paneyney should die before she has returned it her obligation remains and must be fulfilled by her paneyney. There are even cases where a woman has died leaving a widower in a paneyney which includes no other women. In order to supply the thatch which his wife owed he has had to buy it from other paneyneys at the running price of one cent per section. If a woman does not owe thatch to a paneyney which is having a canoe house rethatched she need not give any thatch. No penalty can be imposed in this case.

The thatching of a canoe house is considered a small job although it may involve many man-hours of work. It would take a single paneyney weeks of work to assemble enough thatch and pwel for one canoe house. Moreover, it is doubtful whether one paneyney could supply the great quantity of pandanus required for the thatch.

When a paneyney is ready to start the rethatching, word is sent around the village naming the day on which it is to be done. The day before, the paneyney calls in a few close relatives to strip off the old thatch in readiness for the rethatching. On the day designated forty to sixty men will appear. Unlike most types of cooperative work no food is provided for the workers by the owner of the canoe house.

Exchange

USE OF MONEY

Money as a medium of exchange has been in use on Mokil ever since the start of the copra trade in the latter part of the nineteenth century. In spite of this long history, money has been only partially incorporated into the native economy. Food and the other consumers goods that are produced on Mokil are exchanged almost entirely on a gift exchange basis. Money is used primarily in the copra trade, copra being paid for in cash which is used in turn for purchasing manufactured goods that have been brought into the community store. Money also plays an important part in the local government in that all fines that are imposed on offenders of the law are in terms of so many days in the "calaboose" or fifty cents a day.

Money is also used occasionally to pay for help in various types of work. The scale of payment varies depending upon the difficulty of the work. For digging a taro pit or building a wharf one dollar a day should be paid; for sawing wood, eighty cents a day; for making copra and clearing out brush from coconut land the standard rate is fifty cents a day for men and forty cents a day for women. Actually the wage scale is quite flexible. The employer usually tells the worker before the work is started what he is willing to pay and leaves it up to the worker to decide whether the payment is adequate. The amount of wage work done on Mokil, however, is negligible.

Although the functional use of money is limited to the above, and the purchase of pork and molasses locally produced, money as a means of measuring value has nevertheless had far reaching effects upon the total economy. I was informed that there were standard prices set for many of the subsistence foods, for example: fish caught outside the reef would sell for eleven cents a pound; fish caught inside the lagoon would sell for ten cents a pound; the running rate for taro would be thirty-five cents a pound, for chicken would be fifty cents a piece; pit breadfruit would sell for seventy cents per five pound ball. This price system was borrowed from Ponape and is a modification of the price system found there.

Actually the only foods habitually sold are pork which sells for seventy cents a kilo and molasses made from the juice of the coconut bud which sells for eighty cents a quart. Pork is a ceremonial food of long tradition and is produced primarily for that purpose. On the occasion of a funeral kamatip pork and taro are the two main foods that are offered. Pork, however, is in a class by itself since it can be sold. There is no economy that raises a sufficient number of pigs so that they may be eaten regularly. The main limitation on the number of pigs raised is the large amount of subsistence foods required to feed them and the

consequent drain on the paneyney's resources. Each paneyney feels that it is desirable to have a few pigs so that they can participate in the kamatip system. It often happens that a man is forced to butcher all of his breeding stock when a series of kamatips occurs within a short period of time. If the number of his pigs should increase, in spite of contributions made to kamatips, to the point where a man feels that he can no longer support them he may kill a pig for sale. Usually such sales are to people who are giving a kamatip and have no pig of their own. In spite of the hardship that buying a pig may bring they feel that it is essential that a pig be offered on the occasion. The largest offering, including the biggest pig, must be made by the man giving the kamatip. If a man should try to avoid this obligation by using the excuse that he has neither a pig nor the money to buy one, he would be subject to criticism and would definitely lose status. If, however, it is an important ceremonial occasion several of his most closely related paneyneys are also expected to contribute pigs. By far the largest number of pigs is exchanged between paneyneys on this basis. There are certain public feasts in which every paneyney on the island is supposed to make a contribution. Those who can will give a pig as well as other foods and by such action gain prestige.

Most of the pigs sold for purposes other than kamatips are sold to outsiders such as Ponapeans. Now and then a pig may be butchered by the owner and then sold by the kilo to friends and relatives. But unless it is for a special kamatip such as for a funeral or the birth of a first child, pigs are not given away to individual paneyneys.

For the most part the price system is purely theoretical. The Mokilese do not sell taro at any price, and I have no record of fish being sold. However, Western ideas of doing business have gone beyond the establishing of a theoretical price system. For instance, all private businesses are controlled by the district. If anyone should wish to set himself up as an entrepreneur in the sale of molasses, as a seamstress or masseur he is supposed to get a license from the district. A license costs $1.50. There are several people who have obtained licenses in these fields and are practicing their trades. It is well known, however, that there are many people who sell molasses and practice native medicine who have not obtained licenses. Unlicensed entrepreneurs operate more or less under cover and on a much smaller scale than those who are legally authorized. The local government shows little concern regarding the competence of those working as seamstresses or practicing medicine, or the quality of the molasses that is produced for sale. Licenses are sold entirely for the purpose of making money for the district although the revenue from this source is extremely small and quite unimportant. The effect on the total subsistence economy, however, is great. Goods that could otherwise be exchanged in barter must remain on a gift exchange basis. William Luta was told in public meeting

on April 5, 1948, that he could not exchange his surplus bananas for other foods without a license, since that would constitute a sale.

NATIVE PATTERN OF EXCHANGE

Gift exchange usually involves giving away a surplus of goods with the understanding that something of a similar value will be returned at some indefinite time. Barter, on the other hand, is an exchange in which what is to be given and received is specifically stated and the transaction completed on the spot. If it were not for the regulation regarding licenses it is evident that many more goods would be exchanged on a barter basis than in the gift exchange system, to the mutual advantage of both parties. During this study, I found that the informants were reluctant to give me information regarding specific exchanges of food.

K*shakish

Within the aboriginal system there are three distinct types of exchange, all of which are in use at the present time. People love to give and receive presents; and this informal type of exchange, called "k*shakish," is the most common. This type of exchange serves two functions. One, it gives people an opportunity to exchange one surplus for another, and two, it helps to cement the bonds between them. Everyone knows that a man who receives a present will be pleased. His appreciation is for the gesture as a symbol of the personal relationship rather than for the gift itself. Effusive thanks are not expected from the recipient nor is the quality of the gift criticized by him. K*shakish carries no specific obligation but is merely an expression of good will.

The most successful way of stopping a gossiping campaign is to go to the person responsible and give him a present. News of such a gift spreads rapidly; and since it is not considered proper for a man to continue his gossiping campaign after having been dealt with so generously, it soon stops.

When a person receives a present, his feeling of appreciation is not overt but takes the form of a desire and intention to give the donor something pleasing in return. The donor realizing this knows that if at some future time he wants something he need only express a desire to have the other eagerly make an offer. In K*shakish, the obligation to make a return is implicit but never specific.

P*ki

A more direct though less pleasing way of getting what is needed is to ask for it specifically. This is

called p*ki. Here, too, there is no specific obligation but a return demand can be expected. The process is just the reverse of k*shakish. In both these types of transactions a person of Western culture is impressed with the lack of formality or of embarrassment. When we gave presents to the people of Moxil we were never certain whether they liked them or not as there was little overt indication of their appreciation. At the same time a person with whom we had little contact might approach us and ask for fishing tackle, rice or anything of which he believed that we had a surplus. It was not until later that we learned that these attitudes were quite proper to the culture.

N*s

The third type of exchange, called "n*s," is the most direct. Here it is understood that one commodity is being exchanged for another, though usually on a credit basis. That is, a man is given a bunch of bananas with the understanding that when he catches a surplus of fish he will pay for it in fish. The time of return in n*s is not definite. In actual practice a certain amount of intermixture of these three types of exchange generally occurs. For example, if a man should not have a small fish hook suitable for catching redfish he may go to someone whom he knows to have several and ask him for one which of course is p*ki. The other person feeling generous will hand him a fish hook and say k*shakish meaning that it is a present.

In November, 1947, a transaction occurred that involved all three types of exchange. While Oliten's wife Alta of paneyney twenty-eight was working with her pit breadfruit one day Jimion of paneyney thirty-nine came along and commented to Alta how lucky she was to have pit breadfruit and that her paneyney lived well. This almost amounted to p*ki for it was evident that Jimion was hoping that she would give him some. Alta immediately rose to the occasion by telling him that he could have some if he wanted it, k*shakish. For some reason Jimion felt that he had been a little too direct and was constrained to make her an offer of something in return. She told him that she would like some molasses knowing that he was one of the biggest producers of molasses on the island. This request pleased Jimion as he did have a surplus. Alta generously loaded up a three foot basket with mar and gave it to Oliten to deliver to Jimion's house at the far end of the island. Jimion gave Oliten less than a quart of molasses in return. No one in Oliten's paneyney thought this was a fair exchange; and since by this time the transaction was definitely n*s Oliten did not hesitate to condemn Jimion in private calling him a "different kind of man."

EFFECTS OF MONEY ECONOMY ON NATIVE PATTERN

Within this native pattern of exchange money is having a disturbing effect not only in assigning specific value to the various native commodities but also in the personal nature of the exchange. A man does not always go directly to another for something he needs on a p*ki basis. He now frequently approaches the man with money in his hand and tells him that he wants to buy a particular article. Usually the person ignores the money and gives him the article outright. This use of money is different from purchasing things from the store, buying native products such as molasses and pork or even paying money in wages for help that is being received on an impersonal level. The use of money to facilitate transactions that normally would be considered p*ki has been only tentatively introduced. There is a feeling of uncertainty and embarrassment on the part of both parties when money is used in this way. If a person wishes to buy something from the ship or to make a purchase in the store he knows that the desired commodity has a specific money value and that it can be acquired for a definite price. If a white man asks him to work he knows that he will receive a definite wage and that the whole transaction will be on an impersonal level. Just as the wage scale is beginning to play a part in the cooperative system of labor exchange and the price system is invading the exchange of subsistence foods so also the impersonal attitude of a money economy is becoming more pronounced.

At the present time the native system of gift exchange still plays the most important part in the distribution of foods and exchange of work but the price system and other aspects of money economy have become incorporated in part into this system. Monopolistic ideas such as taking advantage of scarcity of goods are often put into practice. This is particularly true of cigarettes. There are some thirty-seven avid smokers on Mokil who will go to great lengths to get cigarettes when there is a shortage. It is a common practice when cigarettes are getting low in the store and a ship is not expected for a long time for some of the more foresighted men to buy up several cartons in anticipation of a complete exhaustion of the supply. These men know by experience that when there are no more cigarettes readily available an extremely high value will be placed upon them. The fortunate few who have stored them away can trade them for goods or use them as an incentive to get people to work for them.

During one cigarette shortage occurring several years ago Jouab, paneyney thirty, had a corner on nine cartons. In a single transaction with Are of paneyney sixteen he traded one package for ten young taro plants (sh*koki) and some shoots of jorim bananas. Both of these varieties of plants had been introduced to Mokil a short time before and were still quite rare. It was said that he also got a

number of people to cut his copra and do other types of work by offering cigarettes as a bonus.

During another cigarette shortage Jimion of paneyney nine offered Are five cigarettes for a mast. At this time Are's only canoe had been discarded because it was too old for service, but he was saving the mast until he built a new canoe. Jimion told Are that in addition to the five cigarettes he would give him five cartons after the ship arrived. Although Are was reluctant to part with the mast he was so desperate for a cigarette that he told Jimion to hurry home and bring the cigarettes. When Jimion returned he had only two and a half cigarettes. He said that someone had stolen the others. Are considered breaking off the deal but Jimion promised Are that he could use his canoe for fishing whenever he wanted. Soon after the transaction, however, he sent his canoe complete with Are's mast to his brother in Ponape, and, moreover, never paid Are the five cartons that he had promised. During a cigarette shortage that occurred in April, 1948, Jimion's son Takio asked Are for a cigarette that Are had borrowed from him a short time before. Are refused reminding him that Jimion owed him five cartons. This is a debt that Are remembered after two years.

Some of the men of Mokil are so addicted to tobacco that when their supply is cut off they become extremely nervous, lose their appetites and confess that they can think of nothing but cigarettes. It is difficult during a cigarette shortage for anyone to keep his supply secret from the rest of the community. If a man should give a cigarette to a close friend or relative the word immediately spreads far and wide. In a short time he finds himself deluged with visitors who sit around making small talk waiting hopefully for him to pull out a cigarette. If it is definitely known that a man has cigarettes and is not sharing them he will be subjected to a gossiping campaign started by the people who do not get a share of his reserve. There was an extremely long shortage in the spring of 1948 during the last few months of my stay on Mokil. I heard from several of my closest friends that I was being criticized because it was known that I had a package and a half that I was rationing to myself at the rate of one cigarette a day. It immediately became clear to me that if I wished to retain their friendship and continue to have the cooperation of the men in conducting my study I would have to dispose of these cigarettes among them. This I did; and immediately the gossip stopped. Afterwards many of the men came to me to sympathise with my own lack of tobacco.

Sometimes a man is successful in keeping his cigarette supply secret for a long period but as soon as he disposes of them in some advantageous deal those that are excluded

from the transaction become indignant and condemn him for not having shared his cigarettes before. At the time of the cigarette shortage early in 1948 Jonoton of paneyney twenty-nine, a non-smoker, was the storekeeper. As storekeeper he was one of the first to find out that the store was running low on cigarettes, and he set aside several cartons for purposes of speculation. For over a month no one on the island knew that Jonoton had these cigarettes. One day he went to Luelen of paneyney thirty-two and made him a gift of a full carton. In return Luelen told him that he would be happy to have Jonoton take humus from his land on Manton for his new taro patch. (There are only four paneyneys including Luelen's that have land on Manton with humus suitable for taro patches.) At a previous time Jonoton's father Jemej had asked Luelen for humus and had been given a non-committal answer. After the gift of cigarettes Luelen could not properly refuse any longer. This deal was the subject of gossip for several weeks in spite of the fact that probably most of the men would have done the same thing under similar circumstances.

The types of exchange that have been discussed up to this point have emphasized the methods by which a man may acquire the things that he needs or dispose of a surplus that he has produced. Of the commodities that are exchanged food is by far the most important and most frequently passes from one paneyney to another. The preponderance of this food is exchanged either in cooperative work or through the system of kamatips. This type of exchange actually results in a sharing of resources rather than in the exchange of one commodity for another. However, it is not thought of as a means of food distribution but as a device for increasing prestige and good will.

KAMATIPS

A kamatip may be given by an individual in celebration of a special event occurring within his paneyney, or it may be a district affair to celebrate a holiday or other occasion of equal importance to everyone in the village. Usually in either case the whole village participates. At a minor event such as the celebration of the first birthday of the first child a smaller kamatip may be given in which only the close relatives and friends of the paneyney will take part. If it is a public kamatip everyone in the village gives as much as his resources will permit, knowing that he will gain prestige by this display of generosity. In those kamatips given by individual paneyneys closely related paneyneys are expected to give the most. Here too, however, the resources of each paneyney is a limiting factor in the amount given. Irrespective of how much is contributed to either public or private kamatips the food is for the most part divided evenly among all the participants, each man and woman getting an equal share. The only exceptions to this rule are the King, Lopen, the preacher emeritus, and a few of the older men who are recognized as elders. The result of this is that although one man may give twenty corms of taro and a pig and another

man only two corms and no pigs, both receive the same amount in return.

Although kamatips are ceremonial feasts little food is eaten at the event. By far the greatest portion is divided and carried to the homes of those who take part. In fact most of the activities that take place during a kamatip involve bringing in the food, dividing it and carrying it away.

On December 23, 1947, Jojten of paneyney thirteen threw one of the largest individual kamatips held during my stay. It was in celebration of the birth of a first child to his son Jakarias. In accordance with custom the kamatip was given ten days after the child's birth. Jojten is an important man with a reputation for giving big kamatips. Much interest was shown in the baby's birth and many people went to visit the mother and child. Since the baby's father Jakarias was away in Ponape Jojten took most of the responsibility for managing the kamatip, actively assisted by Miram, the new mother's father. Preparations began on the day before the event was scheduled. People began to bring in large corms of taro and many stalks of sugar cane and place them in a pile outside of Jojten's canoe house.

By nine o'clock on the morning of the twenty-third 136 corms of taro and 415 stalks of sugar cane had accumulated. There were also two washtubs full of coconut oil which had been scented with perfume and local flowers--one washtub to be divided among the men and the other among the women. In the forenoon, the women began cooking the food to be eaten at the feast,[1] and the men slaughtered the six pigs that had been contributed. While this was going on, the young men began the division of the taro and sugar cane. They laid them out in neat piles on the main path near the house. Each pile averaged three sugar canes and two or three corms of taro. When the butchering was completed pork was added to each pile. As soon as all the food was divided and even before the cooked food was served, people began to carry away their shares. Bottles brought by each person for the purpose were filled with the perfumed oil and distributed. Many people supervised the allocating of the shares of oil. While the various activities of cooking and distribution were going on the older men sat around watching the proceedings, talking and chewing sugar cane.

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[1] The food to be eaten on the spot included two tubs of cooked rice, a rich stew made of pork kidneys and liver, eight cans of corned beef and about twenty-five gallons of very weak tea. Only four ounces of tea were added to twenty-five gallons of water along with a little canned milk and about twenty-five pounds of sugar. This extremely sweet drink had little resemblance to tea as we know it.

Throughout the event the mother and child for whom the celebration was being given sat in a small thatched shelter where most of the women and many of the men came to pay their respects. She was surrounded by many gifts of perfume, towels and pieces of cloth. These had been presented by twenty-two women who were closely related. One present was given by a man, Ltijon, for his deceased wife.

When the cooked food was ready only the older men were served inside the canoe house. The mother was served in the nearby sleeping house. In a matter of minutes the food was consumed and everybody abruptly left. The area was a shambles. By five o'clock it had been thoroughly cleaned by members of Jojten's paneyney and his near relatives and life in the village was going on as before.

Everyone in the village brought taro, sugar cane and some perfume for the coconut oil which, along with the pork contributed by just a few people, was to be divided and taken away. The paneyneys of Jojten and Airam provided most of the rice, canned meat, tea, sugar, flour and the largest part of the perfume. Jojten contributed the largest pig and Airam the second largest. The other four pigs were contributed by close relatives of either Jojten or Airam. William Luta of paneyney thirty-one whose son married one of Jojten's daughters should have, according to the pattern, contributed a pig. However, William had neither a pig nor the money to buy one. The best he could do was to contribute four dollars in cash. The oil that was divided among the men was provided by Jojten and his close relatives. In general it may be said that most of the paneyneys on Mokil contributed from one to two corms of taro as contrasted to Jojten's contribution of thirty and Airam's contribution of twenty. The average contribution of sugar cane was around five stalks while Jojten's contribution amounted to thirty and Airam's to ten. As a result everyone with the exception of the close relatives took away more food than he brought.

The people were much impressed by the size of the kamatip. Although Jojten's resources were sorely depleted his prestige definitely increased. For several months after this event Jojten had little money to make purchases at the store because of the money he owed on a pig purchased for the kamatip.

Competition in Kamatips

Some forty years ago when August was a small boy, the people decided that the division of Karlap into two parts--Payti and Patak--led to too much dissension. The competition between them was extremely keen and occasionally broke

out into violence. Competition was strongest during the New Year's kamatip and the harvest festivals such as the one held at the ripening of the breadfruit. The New Year's kamatip called Shapun*pa was usually thrown by one of the two districts, and each year the district that was giving the food tried to outdo the efforts of the other district. Some years both districts participated in providing food which resulted in considerable waste. To remedy this situation Karlap was divided into eight parts called Kosh*ps. The division was based on location of paneyneys and the closeness of relationships. According to August most of the paneyneys that were related lived near to each other. At this time no one lived west of the meeting house. The eight groups were named as follows: 1, Num*npulung; 2, Payti; 3, Lokopash; 4, Matato; 5, Uisior; 6, Kap*long Uish (East); 7, L*mesh; 8, Kashabay*.

Being based on location and relationship the Kosh*ps varied considerably in size. Since those within a Kosh*p were related they had a strong ingroup feeling and were extremely competitive toward others. Each year at the annual meeting immediately following the New Year's celebrations a Kosh*p would volunteer to make the kamatip for the next year. High value was placed on making a good showing with the result that each Kosh*p tried to provide more food than that given at the previous kamatip. Thus the Payti-Patak competition was still continued though on a smaller scale.

The Shapun*pa for 1938 was particularly spectacular. At the annual meeting Itimon of Kosh*p three (Lokopash) volunteered to make the next Shapun*pa. Orlando and Opet of Kosh*p seven (L*mesh) said they also wanted to make the Shapun*pa. It was finally agreed that the two Kosh*ps should put on the kamatip together. In March of that year the members of these Kosh*ps began to save and accumulate food for the following January, and as the time of the event approached there was a great deal of spying to find out how much of different foods the other Kosh*p planned to present. Word would spread that Lokopash was going to pull 200 taro, at which L*mesh would make arrangements to pull 220. The same thing applied to ducks, chickens, pigs and even cows. Within the Kosh*p each paneyney gave according to its resources. By December the competition had become so fierce that the district became afraid that those involved would ruin themselves. Finally a meeting was called at which it was agreed that each Kosh*p should bring the same amount of each food.

An estimate of the food includes six cows, forty pigs, five hundred chickens, one hundred ducks and many hundreds of taro. Some of these items are doubtless exaggerated but the figure for cows is certainly accurate. Each group had agreed to supply four cows, but since the December ship was able to bring only six cows L*mesh got two of the four cows they had ordered. Because of this accident Lokopash

is still considered to have won the Kamatip although everything else was equal according to agreement.

Opposition to Competitive Kamatips

In 1948 August decided that the Kamatips were damaging the economy of Mokil. It is said that in 1948 much of the food had to be thrown away since the people had no method of preserving it. Some of the smaller paneyneys involved, according to August, did not recover from that Kamatip for several years. Because of this and because the Kosh*p divisions were useless for allocating work August told the people that the Kosh*ps should be dissolved and the people redivided into five groups strictly according to location irrespective of relationship. At this time the Japanese were taking forced labor and August found it more convenient to designate so many men from each of the five new divisions which were called "Pwins."

Pwins are numbered from one to five starting at the south end of the island, as follows:

1. Pwin Kayu--from Jimion to Jemej.
2. Pwin Kariau--from Japit and Tom Net to Oliten's paneyney which it cuts in half. Piter and Boaj are included.
3. Pwin Kash*lu--from Oliten to Jorim.
4. Pwin K*pau--from Jamuel to Jojten.
5. Pwin Kalimau--from August to Oliper.

With the formation of the Pwins it was decided that small groups would no longer give the Shapun*pa. Instead it would be an island-wide concern to which everyone would contribute. A few of the die-hards resented the loss of this means of attaining glory and said that they would throw the 1944 Shapun*pa by themselves. Evidently the people are reluctant to discard this popular means of displaying their wealth and attaining prestige. At length they agreed to let the volunteers, Are, Oliten, Luelen, Apshaik and Aret give the 1944 Shapun*pa. Are is still talking about the size of the pig he killed and the number of taro corms he contributed. He along with several others were very indignant at the meeting that preceded the 1948 Shapun*pa because the people led by August decided that the Kamatip should be a joint one to which everyone should contribute. The 1948 Shapun*pa was the first one to be held since 1944. Are said he was being cheated by having to contribute to it after giving away so much in 1944 without any return being made.

At the present time not only everyone contributes but the amount each brings has been standardized for both men and women. However, they have left a loophole for continuing the competition. At the next Shapun*pa (1949) only two varieties of taro--sh*koki and seria*--will be

counted. Each man is required to bring one of each. Undoubtedly the size will be observed with a critical eye although the competition in the growing of these two varieties of taro is not supposed to culminate until 1950. It is agreed that eventually they will have an open competition to find out who is the number one taro man on Mokil.

The trend that Shapun*pa has taken in recent years is seen in other types of kamatips as well. August, assisted by a number of others, is trying to do away with all competitive kamatips. There are two types of large kamatips that have ill effects. One is the kind given on the slightest pretext by a paneyney which contributes very little itself, yet asks all relatives, or in some cases the whole village to contribute. At this type many people lose while the host paneyney does well by itself. The second kind is to celebrate an important happening within the paneyney and the most paneyney provides the most food. This is not considered so harmful since only the host paneyney suffers.[1]

August says that the people have agreed that they will no longer put on large kamatips. He maintains that the one given by Jojten is the last of that dimension. There are still many people who want to continue the large kamatips and have approached August with offers to pay money to the district for permission to throw one. The last to make such a request was Lemuel. On being denied, he gave a small kamatip for the first birthday of the first son of his son Eperiem in which only the relatives took part.

Although August is one of the most vocal opponents of large kamatips they say that he himself threw a very large one at the birth of the first child of his son Able. It is evident that the people recognize the evils of large kamatips but are so ensnared in the system that they do not dare to take the initiative against it for fear of criticism. Although the people agree in public meeting to ban large kamatips, the gossip and criticism voiced by these same people privately is likely to be entirely opposite. The opposition to large kamatips, however, is without doubt definitely increasing.

Transference of Competition

The people are beginning to transfer this pattern of conspicuous consumption for the purpose of gaining prestige from kamatips to the system of providing food for cooperative work groups. Earlier in the chapter it was pointed out that Belep had ordered the women of his paneyney to make fifty slabs of irrir for his company so that he could show Erin what his paneyney could do. His intention was

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[1] An example of the second is the kamatip given by Jojten for the first child of Jakarias. Although Jojten is one of the men who talks publicly against large kamatips he seized the first opportunity that presented itself to put on a big one.

to impress not only on Erin but on everyone that his paneyney was strong and wealthy.

The first few days that this company met it was observed that there was an ample amount of food served by each host but not an overwhelming excess. As the company continued from day to day the quantity of food served increased until on April thirteenth it approached kamatip proportions. On this day Lemuel of paneyney nine assumed the responsibility of feeding the company even though it was not he but his son Iperiem who belonged to it. There is no doubt that he felt frustrated when denied the opportunity of making a big display to celebrate the birthday of his grandson. Many people have suggested that he took this opportunity to make the great display of wealth that he thought he had been forbidden to make in a kamatip.

At eight thirty the company met at Lemuel's where the food was already arranged as though for a kamatip inside Lemuel's canoe house. Just as at a kamatip a prayer was given before eating and distributing the food. It was estimated that less than one quarter of the food[1] was eaten by the workers. The rest was divided among them and taken home.

As contrasted to kamatips nearly all of this food was provided by Lemuel. He did receive a little help from close relatives in both contributions and preparation of food.

The reaction to this event was in most cases favorable. It was pointed out to me that even if some of the people pretended that Lemuel was a fool to give away so much food they were nevertheless impressed and would never forget that Lemuel has a lot of food to give and hence is a big man. Also when Lemuel gets into arguments he can always make a reference to the amount of food he has given either to a company or a kamatip, and since these are incontrovertible facts the opposition will be silenced. People must recognize him as a big man on the island who has the right to talk in public. Jouab as the richest man on the island, is one of the few who never puts on a big show. His status in this respect is firmly established.

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[1] Included in the display were five gallons of coffee, forty-one baskets of irrir of which the main ingredient was twenty-two corms of three year old taro, seven taro that were cooked as tipenmwen of which four were over ten years of age, twenty-one slabs of pilulu which among other ingredients included eleven bunches of bananas, one hundred smoked flying fish, two bonito, two red snappers and five weivei.

CHAPTER IV

RELIGION AND THE MORAL ORDER[1]

Early Missionary Activities

The social as well as the religious life on Mokil is dominated by the church. The Congregationalist faith was introduced by the Boston Mission Society as early as 1857. From that time to the present this group has had a free hand in the conversion of the people of Mokil. Their doctrines are now the only ones with which the people are familiar. The missionaries began their work in several ways. One method was to send selected men from Mokil to be trained at the Mission School in Ponape.[2] In addition, Ponapeans who had been trained at the Mission School were also sent to Mokil to take up residence as preachers. Occasionally the mission ship would stop over at Mokil for several days to see how the work was progressing and give whatever help was needed to the resident preachers. These methods were successful in indoctrinating the Mokilese in the beliefs and teachings of the Congregationalist Faith, for which they discarded and for all practical purposes, forgot their native religion and practices.

In 1890, a Mission School was set up on Mokil. For the following two or three years the work progressed with thoroughness and intensity. During this period there were six missionaries on the island. They had been forced to leave Ponape and take refuge in Mokil by the coming of the Spaniards who were militant in their efforts to replace the Protestant religion with Catholicism. It was during the residence of these missionaries that a separate organization called the Women's Church was set up.[3] This is a subsidiary organization to the regular church and has flourished up to the present day.

The Dance

Through the work of these missionaries not only the native religion but also many elements of the aboriginal culture that had been an integral part of the social life of the people were completely eliminated. The execution of the native dances and songs was placed on the list of practices that were considered

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[1]For a full account of missionary activities see Weckler, op. cit., pp. 81-86.

[2]This was continued until recent times. The last man trained at Ponape was Ernij, the present preacher.

[3]Informants say that Miss Foss introduced the idea in 1893. Historical accounts include Miss Foss among the six missionaries who were resident on Mokil at that time.

pagan and consequently improper. The native dance, which had been a particularly highly developed art form was one of the last to go. Even at the beginning of this century, dances were being conducted on a large scale. Many of the older men and women still remember the old dances as well as the songs that accompany them.

Some of the elders, in telling the stories that have come down to them about the days before the copra trade, stress how easy life was then on Mokil. They believe that most of the time was spent in eating and dancing. Furthermore, among the big events that took place in their life time, they list dance festivals for which competitive groups practiced for months. This was during the time when the competitive spirit between Payti and Patak was strong. Men from each of the districts would be sent to spy on the dancing practice sessions of the other to discover what innovations were being introduced by their rivals. On the day of the competition the men from each district would put on their dances while the women accompanied them with rhythms beaten on drums.[1] The drums were made from the skins of sharks and the hollow trunks of coconut trees. After the men on each side had finished, the women put on their dances.

Early in 1947 it came to our attention that some of the people still knew the old dances. We started a campaign to revive the dances in the old style so that we could photograph them for the documentary movie that we were making. Many of the men were enthusiastic about the project, but were uncertain whether it would be the correct thing to do or whether Christian Endeavor--the most militant religious organization on the island--would disapprove. By talking to individual members of Christian Endeavor and getting the backing of the King we finally got permission to go ahead with the preparations. Over a period of several weeks the old men made what they called "school." Every night they would meet in the schoolhouse with the young men to teach them the dances and the songs that accompanied them.

The whole community was delighted with this new diversion. At every practice session the schoolhouse was surrounded by men, women and children. It was only with great difficulty that this audience could be kept sufficiently quiet for the songs to be heard by the performers. At first an attempt was made by the elders to keep onlookers away from the schoolhouse so that the prohibited dances would not be a bad influence. This attempt was made primarily for the good of the children, but it was soon found to be a hopeless task. The crowds could not be controlled.

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[1] It is said that the women always did the drumming, but it was noted in the revival that some of the men knew the rhythms and could perform them quite well.

During this period the women gathered in the afternoons in the schoolhouse to make the costumes for the dances. These consisted of brightly dyed headdresses, skirts of coconut leaves, and armlets and anklets made of coconut leaves that stuck out in every direction. The preparation of the costumes was kept secret from us as the people wanted to surprise us on the day of the performance.

The day of the dance was declared a holiday. As the crowds assembled to witness the show there was no sign of the dancers who were sequestered in a canoe house to put on their costumes and prepare for a grand entrance. When we got the cameras in position the King gave a signal for the dances to start. At the signal a group of the dancers came out in a charge--the beginning of the Mokilese warrior dance. Their bodies were coated with coconut oil so that their skin glistened in the sun. Everyone, ourselves especially, was not only delighted but overwhelmed.

The warrior dance was followed by a series of others including some performed in a sitting position. All were beautiful to watch. For the last part of the program they put on several dances that they had been taught by the missionaries. These were extremely formal, and consisted of what seemed to be a combination of a square dance and a military drill. For these dances the participants were dressed in white pants and shirts with sashes around their waists and the conventional European style pandanus hats.

The dances were so well received that we were certain that a permanent revival of the old dances had been accomplished. A few days later, however, we were informed that Christian Endeavor had decided that there would be no more dancing of this type on Mokil. It was not proper to good Christians.

Church Attendance

Most of the leisure of the Mokilese is spent in church activities. Every adult on the island belongs to the church and is exceedingly conscientious about attending services. Many of the children also attend church services, besides going to Sunday School every Sunday morning. Services are held at six o'clock in the morning every week day; Christian Endeavor is held on Wednesday afternoons; Women's Church on Friday afternoons; regular church and Christian Endeavor on Sundays. Church activities on Sunday begin with Sunday School at seven-thirty in the morning. Church is held from nine to eleven o'clock followed by a meeting of Christian Endeavor. Church services are also held in the afternoon from three to five. The only man on the island who does not attend church outside of those who are too old to get about is Luelen, who uses poor health as an excuse.

There is little variation in the activities that take place

from one Sunday to another. Just as on week days the people are up by six o'clock. After attending to the necessary chores such as feeding pigs and chickens and collecting molasses they eat breakfast, take a bath and get dressed for church. The majority stay through the services given for Christian Endeavor members and return to their houses between twelve and twelve-thirty. At this time they eat the big meal of the day and take a nap. A few may visit their relatives. At quarter to three they start preparing for church once again. After the afternoon services which may extend to anywhere from four-thirty to five o'clock in the evening the people go home and eat their evening meal. They sit around for a couple of hours after supper and go to bed early. For the most part it can be said that the entire Sunday is spent eating, sleeping and attending church.

In addition to attending the various church services on Sunday and throughout the week a certain amount of time is spent by small groups practicing hymns for special services or by individuals preparing messages inspired by selections from the Bible to be given at meetings of Christian Endeavor and occasionally at the regular church services.

Church Structure

There are three church organizations on Mokil all of which are closely related. The regular church is called "Momotso." The second organization, which is considered a part of Momotso, is Women's Church. All the adult women on Mokil are members of the latter.

The Women's Church has five officers with the same names and duties as the Upper Five officers in Christian Endeavor. These offices are held for a period of two months. At the end of each term new officers are appointed by the retiring president. Appointments are determined from the records kept by the secretary concerning members' morals and their devotion to the church. The Women's Church meets every Friday afternoon. No men including the preacher ever attend.

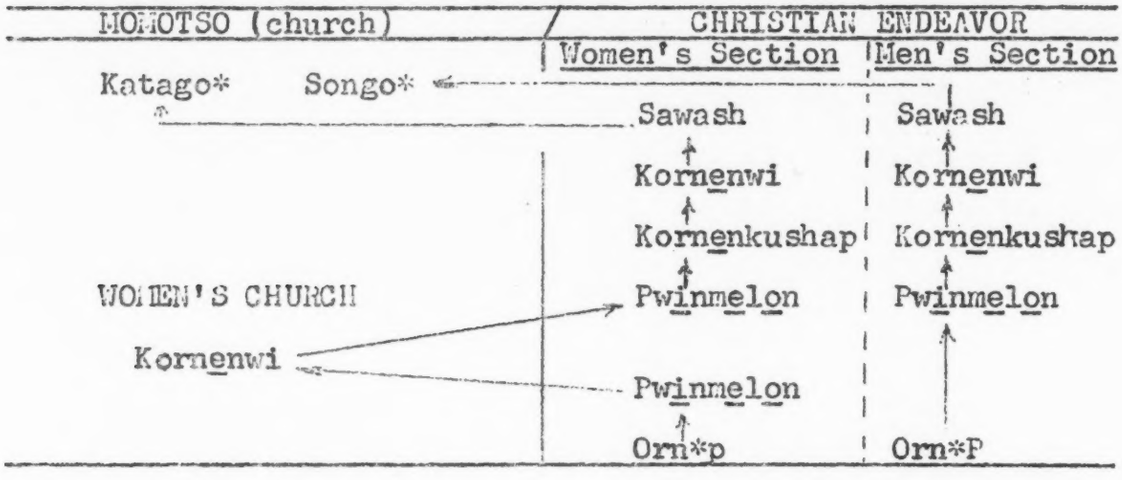
Semi-annually on the last Friday in August and on the last Friday in February, all of the officers of the Women's Church who have served during the past six months organize a kamatip for the benefit of the entire island. The past three presidents each contribute five taro and one pig. The remaining officers bring two or three taro a piece. All of the other women on the island including the few non-members bring one wash basin full of food of their own choosing. Following the same pattern that

is used in other community-wide kamatips,[1] the food is divided among the guests. Similar public kamatips are given throughout the year by Christian Endeavor and the regular church.

The third organization, Christian Endeavor, is more exclusive and certainly stricter in what it requires of its members. Within Christian Endeavor there are two parallel organizations, one for men and one for women. Each section has its own officers and, on certain occasions, conducts its services separately. There is a separate hierarchy within Christian Endeavor which to a certain extent involves the Women's Church organization and at the top level becomes part of the regular church. (See Table X.)

TABLE X

PROGRESSION IN RANK IN CHURCH AND CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOR



Songo*--top ranking male member of both church and Christian Endeavor

Katago*--top ranking female member of church and Christian Endeavor.

Kornenwi--president of Women's church.

Sawash--retired presidents.

Kornenwi--president of Christian Endeavor.

Kornenkushap--vice president of Christian Endeavor.

Pwinmelon--full member of Christian Endeavor.

Orn*p--a pledge.

[1]First the food is divided into two parts--one for the men and one for the women. Each of these parts is then divided into ten shares. All of the men and women on the island are divided into ten sections according to the location of their homes. Each section has approximately the same number of individuals. A share is then assigned to each section. The final division of the food is made by the members of each section. The young girls receive a portion out of the women's share and the boys out of the men's share. A few of the boys go off and eat by themselves and some of the girls usually do the same. The others eat with their paneyneys; that is, the boys eat with the men of their paneyney and the girls with the women of theirs.

A new member of the group is called "Orn*p." He is on a probationary level and has little standing in the organization. After he has served for six months or more and is approved by the officers of Christian Endeavor he may be brought into full membership called "Pwinmelon." A Pwinmelon who attends all the services, prepares many messages for delivery in church or Christian Endeavor meetings, helps organize small song groups, who has not made trouble by gossiping about his neighbors and whose behavior in general has been exemplary may be appointed to the position of vice president, called "Kornenkushap," of Christian Endeavor. He will serve in this capacity for six months, after which he will take over the office of president, called "Kornenwi," and serve for another six months in this office. Once a man has served as Kornenwi he achieves a new status in Christian Endeavor called "Sawash" which in Mokilese means "to help others." All those who have achieved this status have a definite rank in the hierarchy. The order of the rank of Sawash is relative to the time each man served as Kornenwi. A man who has just completed his term as Kornenwi and is consequently newly introduced into Sawash is at the bottom of the list. In the Women's section one more step is required to achieve the status of Sawash. After a woman has reached the position of Pwinmelon she may be appointed president of the Women's Church. After serving as president of Women's Church she returns once again to the status of Pwinmelon. It is at this stage that she may be appointed to the vice presidency, which leads to Kornenwi, of the Women's section of Christian Endeavor and finally qualifies her to become Sawash.

Sawash is as high as a person can go in Christian Endeavor. There is, however, a fourth group that is even higher in the church than Sawash. For the men it is called "Songo*," for the women, "Katago*." The members of this group are considered the "pillars of the church." They are the most influential people in the island where affairs of the church are concerned. Their function is similar to that of a sexton. They keep the church clean and decorate it for special events. Although their main job is to take care of the church and assist in the regular church services, it is clear that they are an integral part of, and subject to,the discipline of Christian Endeavor. In order to reach this high position they must pass through the various stages of the Christian Endeavor organization which have been described above. A woman cannot achieve the position of Katago* by her efforts alone. It is only when her husband has been appointed to Songo* and she has reached the status of Sawash that she can be promoted to this higher rank. If her husband should die while he is still Songo* she will remain in the organization as Katago*. However, if her husband should be reduced to Sawash or be expelled from Christian Endeavor she will be reduced to Sawash though her behavior may have been above criticism.

Just as in Sawash the members who hold the position of Songo* have a definite order of rank. The highest position in

both the church and Christian Endeavor is held by Lepen who is called "Reverend." This title was officially conferred upon Lepen when he completed his training at the Mission School. Because of Lepen's great age and frailty he holds this position in name only. The active head is the present preacher Ernij who is called "Shonpatak." Both of these are permanent positions. Directly below Ernij and subject to his authority are the incumbent presidents and vice presidents of Christian Endeavor.

Christian Endeavor

In addition to Lepen and Ernij there are ten officers in the men's section of Christian Endeavor and ten officers in the women's section. In each organization these officers form two groups as follows:

UPPER FIVE

Kornenwi	--	president
Wilianti	--	assistant to the president
Shoninsing	--	secretary
Shonkol	--	song leader
Shonkanikit	--	treasurer

LOWER FIVE

Kornenkushap	--	vice president
Wilianti	--	assistant to the vice president
Shoninsing	--	secretary
Shonkol	--	song leader
Shonkanikit	--	treasurer

The Upper Five officiate at Christian Endeavor services on Sunday and the Lower Five at the services held on Wednesdays. The Upper Five are the official executives of Christian Endeavor while the Lower Five are in training for their respective jobs. The Lower Five are also the policemen of Christian Endeavor. It is their responsibility to report to the Kornenwi any infraction of the rules of Christian Endeavor or the breaking of any of the Ten Commandments. The Kornenwi in turn reports to Ernij who has the final word on whether action should be taken and if so what punishment should be imposed. However, Ernij is subject to the opinions and advice of the Kornenwi and even more especially of the Songo*. The women's section, like the men's section, looks out for the moral behavior of its own members.

Christian Endeavor offers strong attractions to the Mokilese. Great importance is placed upon being a good Christian, and by the ranking system employed in Christian Endeavor the relative devotion to the faith of every member can be measured. This

system fits in well with the aspect of the cultural pattern which emphasizes competition and the recognition of the man who is "number one" in raising taro, throwing kamatips and building fast canoes. It is undoubtedly for this reason that Christian Endeavor has attained the complex structure that it now has on Nokil. It was pointed out earlier that a man who has little land has little chance of improving his status or increasing his wealth. Further, if a man is poor he is hesitant about speaking up in public gatherings, entering into arguments or backing a cause that he feels is just. If he spoke up, an attack would be made on his weak economic position for the purpose of shaming him into silence. In Christian Endeavor he is given an opportunity to perform in public and receive the uninterrupted attention of his "betters." Christian Endeavor is free of political[1] and economic considerations to the point where a man who is poor or, for that matter, lazy and incompetent may by being diligent in religious matters achieve a position in the highest order of the church--that of Songo*.

If any member of Christian Endeavor, irrespective of the rank he holds, should transgress the rulings of the organization or break one of the Ten Commandments he can be demoted in rank, or if the offense is serious even be expelled from Christian Endeavor. A person is never expelled from the regular church or the Women's Church. When a new member joins Christian Endeavor he is given a card by the secretary which he is asked to sign. This card contains the rules of conduct by which the new member agrees to abide. In translation the conditions are as follows:

Creed or Promise of Christian Endeavor[2]

When I trust in the power of Lord Jesus I swear to Him the following:

1. I will do everything that will please my Lord.

2. I will be true to the Holy Ghost and during my life I will be steadfast to all His commandments. I will try to do all the works of my hand that the Lord gives me to do.

3. Not one day will I miss reading the Bible or saying a prayer.

4. I will be strong to help the church and the Lord that loves me and do all of His works.

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[1]Though there are no politics involved in Christian Endeavor, all the important and influential men are also high in the organization. This was pointed out to me by August and confirmed by observation.

[2]Translated by King August's mother Sopi, school teacher.

When I am in the Christian Endeavor I promise:

1. I will obey all the rules of the Christian Endeavor and be diligent to its works.

2. And do all the service, works of prayer, song and speech and not allow any of the works of the flesh to hold me out or away from worship but to do only the honor of Jesus.

3. If I cannot join in worship of the Christian Endeavor when they assemble together to worship the Lord I will send them a verse from the Bible that can be read at the time of reading. This will be done to prosper the honor of Jesus.

The Rules of Christian Endeavor:

1. Don't drink liquor[1] nor touch it with thine hand.

2. Don't smoke.

3. No tattoing.

4. No scarification.

5. Refrain from dancing or any other practice of indulgence to the body.

6. Do not practice black magic.

The Christian Endeavor services held on Wednesday afternoons are more informal than those held on Sundays, and they give an opportunity for the members to participate more freely. For each service one male and one female member are appointed to act as masters of ceremonies. On May 11, 1948, Kelen of paneyney two and Eli (Japit's wife) of paneyney thirty-three had been given the honor of presiding over the service. Both sat at a table placed in front of the pulpit. They opened the service with a prayer followed by a second prayer given by Lepen. Several hymns were then sung by the congregation. After a long prayer had been repeated by the congregation the floor was declared open. Volunteers--both men and women--immediately began to rise and approach the front of the church. As each person's turn came he took his position in front of the pulpit and made a perfunctory bow sometimes toward the congregation and at other times toward the pulpit and the presiding members. He then read off a verse that he had selected from a Bible, written in Ponapean. Some said a few words regarding the faith and then started a short hymn that was taken up by everyone.

While one person was still talking others were working their

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[1]There is no drinking and very little card playing on Mokil.

way to the front of the church apparently anxious not to lose the opportunity of adding their piece. As is usual in all church gatherings on Mokil the men were seated on one side of the church and the women on the other.[1] The men approached the front of the church along the wall on their side and the women along the opposite wall. There was a general tendency for men and women to alternate in taking the floor, but on two occasions counted as many as five men following each other in succession.

Most of the performances were extremely short. A few of the more experienced members such as Alen, Jojten and Eliam, all of whom are Songo*, gave what almost amounted to sermons. They read selected passages from the Bible, then elaborated in considerable detail on the meaning. Irrespective of his experience or position in the church each person was obviously nervous and extremely serious about doing his part well. Finally Tijon, the kornenkushap (Lower Five), for the men rose and said a few words, which was the sign that volunteer performances by the congregation were at an end. Following this, Ernij the preacher nudged Eliam, number five Songo*, at which he got up and read a message and said a short prayer. Usually Ernij performs this function at the end of the service. I was told, however, that on occasion he would call upon one of the men who were high in rank in the church. Roll call was then taken by the secretaries of both the men and the women at the same time. At the end of roll call everyone in the church either got on his knees or squatted very low to say a prayer. The service was closed with the Lord's Prayer delivered by Lepen.

The most formal meeting of Christian Endeavor occurs on the first Sunday of the month. On Sunday morning, May first, at the end of the regular church service the few people who did not belong to Christian Endeavor left the church. For the following fifteen minutes the rest of the congregation sang a series of hymns. The Kornenwi stood up and called upon Lepen to say a short prayer. He then called on Ernij who also said a prayer. After this the men went upstairs into the loft so as not to interfere with the women's program which was carried on in the main part of the church. This was the first time I

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[1] On either side of the pulpit against the side wall is a bench. The one on the left facing the front of the church is reserved for King August and the one on the right for Ernij, occasionally one of the top Songo* and visiting white men. Women and young children sit on the left of the center aisle and the men on the right of it, with the most important members nearest the front, the least important ones at the rear. Lepen sits with his back to the front wall to the right of the pulpit facing the congregation.

saw women given special consideration as a group in public. They are never admitted to the public meetings house, are always the last to eat at kamatips and, if any dignitaries are on the island, are entirely excluded from the kamatips that may be given in honor of the visitors. On questioning, however, I was informed that this practice of leaving the main part of the church to the women had been adopted upon the insistence of a Japanese missionary several years before.

After the men had found their seats in the loft the secretary began to call off the names of each member starting with the name of the man who held the highest rank in the church and finishing with the lowest ranking man. King August who is the highest ranking Songo* on the island, not counting Lepen and Ernij, was the first called. He read a short passage from the Bible. August's was followed by similar performances given by everyone present from the next highest Songo* down the ranks to the lowest Orn*p. A few led hymns instead of reading verses from the Bible. Those who were absent because of illness had a verse read for them by another member.

The program carried on by the women was the same. When the men and women had finished their separate services they all gathered again downstairs in the nave of the church. The Kornenwi, called for the reading aloud of the Christian Endeavor code. He then named a series of men who took turns leading the congregation in prayer. After the Kornenwi had read a passage out of the Book of James the service was concluded with a prayer.

It is this participation in the service that makes interesting what otherwise might be a long and tedious session. I have been told by informants that men sometimes go to sleep in church but never in Christian Endeavor.

Christian Endeavor and the Moral Code

At the time of this study all of the women on the island belonged to Christian Endeavor. Those men who did not belong failed to join because of the ruling that a member of Christian Endeavor could not smoke. There are thirty seven men on Mokil who smoke. Most of them do so openly; however about one quarter of the smokers belong to Christian Endeavor and can hence smoke only in secret. If a man is discreet and never smokes in front of other members who do not smoke, no effort is made to find him out and have him disciplined by Christian Endeavor. However, if a man is not careful and some of the non-smoking members see him in the act he will be brought before Christian Endeavor and questioned. If he denies that he has been smoking and the witnesses are adamant he will be expelled from the organization. After Kilenten (paneyney twenty-three) who was a Songo* had been in Ponape for several months, it was reported by several of the Mokilese that he had been seen smoking there. Kilenten denied these charges

and was promptly expelled from Christian Endeavor. This is the only case that has come to my attention of a man of high rank being thrown out for such a minor offense. Usually a Songo* or Sawash will merely be demoted one or two positions in the hierarchy and may by good behavior be reinstated inside of a few months.

It is considered much worse, however, for a person of high rank than for one of low rank in the church to commit any sort of offense. Men who are merely Pwinmelon are not thought of as strong Christians. It is expected that they will frequently "fall down" by smoking or some other more serious offense. From time to time men who are at the Pwinmelon level will decide that it is too much of a strain to hide their smoking and will voluntarily drop out of Christian Endeavor so that they can smoke openly. During a cigarette shortage these same men will often decide that since there are no cigarettes anyway they have nothing to lose and might as well ask to be reinstated. This request is accompanied by the usual repentance for past misdeeds and promises to lead a better life in the future.

That even the staunchest members of Christian Endeavor pay only lip service to the rule regarding smoking is attested to by the fact that they never condemn a fellow member for smoking in secret. It is recognized that some men have developed a craving for cigarettes that cannot be denied. This is known to be true even for men of good character who in all other respects are considered good Christians. If a visiting dignitary makes gifts of cigarettes to the people the non-smoking members of Christian Endeavor take their share along with the rest for the purpose of giving them to their friends and relatives who do smoke. Cigarette smoking is not considered inherently evil. Its prohibition is a ruling that has been arbitrarily imposed upon the people by the introduction of Christian Endeavor. Christian Endeavor members are actually the most successful cigarette speculators during a shortage primarily because they are not tempted to smoke up their supply.

Adultery is a more serious offense than smoking in the eyes of the community and Christian Endeavor. Nevertheless the same tolerance, the same sympathy and understanding is shown for those who transgress in this manner as is shown for smokers. The understanding is even more honest in regard to adultery because nearly every person on the island has at one time or another had an affair that came to public attention.[1] This frequent occurence of adultery makes it the most common reason for expulsion from Christian Endeavor.

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[1]Although adultery has always been common on Mokil its frequency increased during the war because so many husbands were in Ponape doing forced labor for the Japanese. The women who were left behind became available to the few men remaining in Mokil. The relatively high incidence of adultery dating from that time has continued to the present.

When a case of adultery does become public, the offenders are fined five dollars a piece and are subject to gossip for a short period of time. The betrayed husband may forgive his wife if she confesses to her infidelity before he learns about the affair from a third party or, as occasionally happens, catches her in the act. If she does not confess he usually beats her and, if he is able, beats the man who has "stolen" her. If the wife should be unfaithful several times he may use this as grounds for divorce. Before a divorce may be granted, however, he must present his case in public meeting and get the approval of the people as well as of the King. Efforts are usually made by the King to reconcile the couple and preserve the marriage.

If a husband is unfaithful the wife has little recourse other than to complain bitterly. A woman may seek a divorce on the grounds of incompatibility generally couched in specific terms--that her husband mistreats her, beats her and does not give her sufficient food. I know of no case of a woman receiving a divorce because her husband was unfaithful. It is felt that it is only natural for a man to desire women and to wish for variety in his sexual relations. Fidelity is not essential to an enduring marriage. Other considerations such as compatibility of the personalities, industry, and competence all are more important. Most extra-marital affairs are casual and short-lived. A person's reputation may be temporarily but never permanently damaged by an indiscretion. A spouse is soon forgiven. Before long the most lurid affair has become just another anecdote to add to the long list which men bring up from time to time to while away their idle hours, embroidering on the facts to suit their fancy but never comdemning the principals in the affair.

Even a scandal that shakes the island and may involve the biggest men in the village both in and outside of the church soon becomes history. Alen (paneyney seven) who is one of the wealthiest and most influential men on the island became involved in such a scandal. He was working for the Japanese in Ponape in 1943 while his wife Naite remained in Mokil. During the period of his separation from her Alen sought out the King's mother Sopi and slept with her. At this time Alen was fifty-four years old and Sopi was sixty-six. A year later Alen's wife Naite, forty-six years old, had an affair in Mokil with an Okinawan by the name of Tira. Alen's relations with Sopi were not generally know at this time. Naite's affair with Tira became the scandal of Mokil because it was carried on openly. Naite frequently paid visits to Tira in his house in broad daylight. Tira eventually became so enamored of Naite that he went to August and Lepen and asked that Naite be given a divorce from Alen so that he could marry her. They refused his request. Consumed with desire for her he swore publicly that he would kill Alen who, back on Mokil, was an obstacle to his pleasure. Alen in great fear fled to Urak where he was soon followed by Tira intent on killing him. Tira was intercepted by King August, Alen's

close relative and friend. August in a rage beat Tira almost to death with a coconut frond. This treatment proved effective in dampening Tira's ardor.

The relations between Alen and Naite were becoming strained to the breaking point by all these happenings. On one occasion Alen beat Naite publicly. In her anger at this Naite exposed Alen's affair with the King's mother, which he had penitently confessed to her. Although everyone was sympathetic with Alen for his tribulations he was broken by Christian Endeavor from his high position as Songo*. Naite who had been Kat*go* was also broken.

While this affair was going on August had tried several times to force Naite to give up Tira. He had condemned her behavior on more than one occasion in public meeting, and as punishment had given her the Japanese torture which consisted of placing a stick three inches in diameter between her thighs and calves and forcing her to maintain a kneeling position for two hours. After such a treatment it is impossible for the victim to stand upright for several hours.

When the affair was over Alen went to Lepen and repented. He was put on probation for a year then reinstated as Songo*. Naite, on the other hand, whose behavior had been deplorable had to start at the bottom of Christian Endeavor. By the spring of 1948 she had reached the position of Kornenwi. She is definitely in the process of reestablishing her good reputation, and is again much respected. Alen is one of the most respected and popular men on the island.

Reinstatement in Christian Endeavor is not always so easy. About 1937 Alipot (paneyney twenty six) had an affair for which he was expelled. It has taken him ten years to reach his present position of top man in Sawash. He has not yet achieved his former position in Songo*. The effect of this discipline has been to make Alipot more discreet but has evidently done nothing to dampen his interest in potential affairs. Notwithstanding his outward respectability, he confided to an old crony one day that he thought the young wife of a neighbor was very attractive and that he would be willing to give $25 for the chance to "sweetheart" her.

Outside of Lepen, Ernij the preacher commands more respect as a virtuous and Christian man than any other man in the village, but even he has had his moments of weakness. Shortly after his return from Ponape where he had undergone training for his role as native preacher, Ernij became involved in an affair with another man's wife. The people decided that he was not yet prepared for his calling and sent him back to Ponape for a refresher course. Since that time Ernij' behavior has been exemplary. He is not only a virtuous man but is competent in all the ways most important to the Mokilese. He has a reputation for having a good head for "making business"; he is

one of the best canoe builders of the younger generation; he never makes trouble by gossiping about his neighbors; he raises fine taro; he is an outstanding fisherman; he owns a respectable amount of land.

Extra-marital relations are so common that a father or husband must maintain great vigilance over the actions of his daughter or wife. The women are permissive. It is expected that if a man makes up his mind that he wants to "sweetheart" a woman and is sufficiently persistent he will inevitably succeed. If a man should stop to talk to a woman out of earshot of those who may be nearby, he is immediately suspected of trying to "sweetheart" her. Adultery usually occurs when the husband is away from the island on some such business as doing wage work in Ponape. When the husband is at home adultery is difficult. In such circumstances it usually occurs when the husband is out fishing at night. For this reason some of the more jealous men hesitate to go night fishing, and if they do go they arrange for relatives to look after their wives. Some of the men even go so far as to take their wives with them on night excursions, but they are regarded with open amusement by the other men.

The women do not always take a passive role in the arrangement of an affair. If a woman is interested in a man she makes it known by complaining to some of her friends that the man has been trying to "sweetheart" her. The man soon hears about it and recognizes it as an invitation.

Several cases came to my attention of an older man launching a campaign extending over several weeks to steal another man's wife. In each case the woman as well as the husband were young and respected members of the community. In each case the campaign succeeded but never became public. One old man managed to win the sexual favors of a young woman by presenting her with a bar of soap[1] during a soap shortage.

Another man of sixty-one gave cigarettes to his sweetheart aged thirty-five and several times gave her cash--usually a dollar and fifty cents at a time. This woman's husband had been away in Ponape for almost a year and during his absence she had acquired a number of sweethearts in addition to this old man. He suspected that she was not being true to him and his suspicions increased when he heard that she had given cigarettes received from him to one of her younger sweethearts. He accused her of this but she denied it saying that she had given the cigarettes to her brother. This is very improper behavior. A woman should never give presents received for her sexual favors to a male relative, least of all to her brother. The old man said that in the old days this never would have happened. Nevertheless he was relieved to hear

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[1] A man who is having an affair will usually reward the woman with gifts either of cash or of rationed goods purchased at the store.

that she had not given the cigarettes to one of her young sweethearts and forgave her.

About two days after this it became known that the woman was pregnant. Under questioning she revealed that ten or twelve men were involved. The whole village buzzed with the scandal. Of her numerous sweethearts she named her favorite as the one responsible for her pregnancy. In such cases it is the practice on Hokil for the father to take the child. Her favorite happened to be a poor man. His wife scolded him not for his infidelity but for making another baby when he was too poor properly to support the ones he already had. She told him that she would support her own children with the fruits of her dowry land but that he would be responsible for supporting his sweetheart's child. Almost every one of the indignant wives of the men who were included in the affair stated that she would insist that her husband take the child if it turned out to be his.[1]

The Sunday following the day that the pregnancy became common knowledge the woman's elderly lover washed his hands of the whole affair by joining Christian Endeavor. Being an inveterate smoker he had theretofore stayed out of the organization. On this Sunday morning at church he got up before the congregation and told them that he had been a sinful man, that he wanted to do better but that his flesh was weak. He shed a few tears, said that he had finally resolved to be a good Christian and asked the congregation to pray for him. The same afternoon he came to tell me what he had done and explained that by such action he was sure that he had made his sweetheart feel very bad. I asked him whether he really intended to give up smoking, to which he replied by requesting a cigarette which he smoked then and there in the seclusion of my house.

Previously people had suspected him of making love to this particular woman, but with a great show of clear-eyed innocence he said that it would not be possible for him to have anything to do with this woman because he was related to her. Although parallel cousins may not marry cross cousins may. The relationship between this old man and the woman is half cross cousin. His mother and her father had been half siblings. It would be permissible for them to marry but not to have an illicit relationship. It is not unusual to call attention to these mores in order to throw off suspicion from behavior that directly transgresses them.

Christian Endeavor will also employ disciplinary measures on members who act in contradiction to other mores of the

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[1]When the paternity of a child is unknown, the people believe that they can tell who the father is by the appearance of the new born child. In such a situation the men suspected of paternity never go near the baby. It is always their wives who look the child over.

culture. Wiliam Luta was expelled from Christian Endeavor in April, 1948. His trouble began one morning when he went to Eliam who is one of the top men in Songo* and asked to borrow his razor. Wiliam has always felt that he was too poor to buy a razor, and has got into the habit of borrowing one when he wants to shave. Eliam told him this time that he was tired of lending him his razor and that he should get one of his own. Wiliam became angry and pointed out that he had given Eliam some land on Urak for a taro patch and now Eliam begrudged him the use of his razor. Eliam replied that when the taro was matured Wiliam would get his share, that actually Wiliam was not losing anything as he was too lazy to dig a taro pit for himself. At this point Eliam's wife intervened to say that Eliam was being too hard on Wiliam. Her expression of sympathy caused Wiliam to break down and cry. He was finally quieted by Eliam giving him some rot*m* and smoked fish.

When Wiliam returned to his house after the incident with Eliam he found Orijon his stepson indignantly waiting for him. In less than an hour the whole village had learned of Wiliam's quarrel with Eliam. Orijon is the son of Wiliam's wife, Paipi, who has cancer and is totally blind. Wiliam has frequent quarrels with Orijon because, although Orijon has no land of his own, according to Wiliam, he refuses to do what Wiliam tells him. Wiliam also resents Paipi's helplessness and feels that he is unfortunate in having to support her. Orijon told Wiliam that he was ashamed of the fact that when Wiliam wanted to borrow a razor he would go to someone outside of the paneyney instead of borrowing Orijon's. Wiliam retorted in great anger that Orijon was too stupid to teach him anything and that he was no good. He added that this also applied to Paipi. Orijon reminded him that it was Wiliam's own doing that he and Paipi were in Wiliam's paneyney. In the heat of the argument Wiliam told Orijon to get out of the paneyney and off the paneyney land and to take his mother with him.

All this was carried on in public. Orijon went next door to Jouab, his brother by adoption, and told him what Wiliam had done. Jouab, in a righteous tone of voice invited Orijon to bring his mother and move in with him. Jouab then went to Wiliam and told him that if he insisted on throwing out his blind wife he would have him put in the "calaboose." This evidently gave Wiliam something to think about. He took Paipi to his home before the day was over, but refused to have anything further to do with Orijon. The following Monday Wiliam was called before a meeting of Christian Endeavor. His case was reviewed by the members and it was decided that he should be expelled from the organization.

Public Opinion and the Moral Code

One who breaks the rules of Christian Endeavor by committing adultery, smoking and gossiping may be in temporary

disgrace, but through good behavior will recover his good reputation before long. On the other hand, a man who has cheated others, who has a reputation for consistently looking out for himself and disregarding the rights of others, or who is reluctant to share the products of his land with his relatives will be repudiated by the community. Public opinion is actually the greatest force governing behavior.

Theft is one of the most serious offenses on Mokil, and once a man or a woman has been convicted of theft he is thereafter viewed with suspicion. Theft occurs so seldom, however, that it does not create much of a problem.

A person is expected to be loyal to his paneyney and to look after its members. In this respect no man is entirely independent of the community. Opet detests his oldest son and has little use for any of the others except Erin. If it were not for public opinion there is no doubt that he would throw Steven at least out of the paneyney and cut him out of his inheritance of paneyney lands. Several times Opet has publicly threatened to do so. Each time that public attention has been called to this situation it has been because of Opet's violent anger at some new action of his sons. After a few hours of reflection, Opet calls in Steven and his other sons and retracts his threats, realizing that he has gone too far and that public opinion will be against him.

A man may successfully cut off another from his rights in the paneyney and his claim on the paneyney lands if he does so quietly without bringing it to the attention of the public. If he acts rashly and creates a disturbance, pressure is brought to bear to make him conform to the accepted pattern of behavior. The most serious offense seems to be to disturb the community by airing private dissension. It is more serious than many of the injustices known to occur within the family circle which do not disrupt village life. Jouab has cut off his brothers by adoption from their rightful share of the paneyney lands. Although he may be criticized for this behind his back he is never confronted in public with accusations nor disciplined by Christian Endeavor for taking advantage of his position of power, merely because he moves smoothly and discreetly, making many promises that he never intends to keep.

Jouab is a big man because he is a wealthy man. But he is probably the most disliked man on Mokil. Respect is shown him in public while he is subjected to the most vicious gossip behind his back. During the Japanese period, Jouab ran a store and traded in copra on Mokil. Many of the people told me that he was dishonest in his dealings, that he would shortweight them on their copra and overcharge them for his goods. He has stolen land from some of his distant relatives by using his position of power to force claims to be recognized which, if brought by any lesser power, would be ignored.[1] Since the end

[1] See Weckler, op. cit., pp. 132-33.

of the war he has maneuvered the position of first secretary which carries with it the responsibility of handling the district accounts. Jouab has recently been accused several times of misappropriating district money. Certainly, there is no question that if the majority had its say he would be thrown out of this office. No matter what he may do to try to improve his position in the eyes of the people it is probable that he will never outlive his reputation for dishonesty.

CHAPTER V

THE POLITICAL SITUATION

In contrast to the complex organization that has developed in the church with its elaborate hierarchy of rank and order among the members, the political structure of Mokil has remained essentially simple in form if not in function. There are only two officials that are traditional to the native government. At the head is the King or Nanmarki who, theoretically at least, is the supreme authority. The second office is held by the number two King. The function of these two officials has changed from time to time during the known history of the people. It is suspected that in the early days just before the great typhoon of circa 1770 the King had much more power than he now enjoys. It is said that at that time the King owned all the land and that before anyone could utilize the products of either the land or sea they had to present them to the King who would take what he needed for himself and his family and have the rest divided among the people. The second official, called "Lepenkat*m" was not a chief in his own right but served as an aide to the King. His main function so far as is known was to distribute the food that was brought to the King. It is probable from the description given by the people that this presentation of the products of the land and sea was similar to the first-fruits ceremonies prevalent in Micronesia, and if so, was more of a ritual that took place upon special occasions, than a daily occurrence.

It has been definitely established that following the typhoon the land no longer belonged exclusively to the King but was divided among the heads of the three families that survived the typhoon. These included Lashabo the King, Okitau the number two King and Mwenshonit head of the third dynasty. From this time until the fifth successor of Lashabo came into power little is known of the political organization. We know definitely that in the time of Wataka, the fifth successor, there were two minor chiefs in addition to the King. These two men have no known title. The introduction of the names "Wasay" and "Tauk" from Ponape was the first indication of titles being given them. These names are not now accepted by the Mokilese. It is suspected that the third office developed out of the minor role Mwenshonit had just after the typhoon although it is not known what function either of these two minor chiefs performed. They appear to have been advisors to the King with little real authority. However, from Wataka's reign until 1865, when the missionaries came to Mokil, they must have had some influence with the people. This is indicated by the many successful coups d'etat, wherein the King was killed and a minor chief put in his place. This period of violence and bloodshed

enced in the reign of Sharkiben who was converted to Christianity and invited missionaries to Mokil.

Definite information on the political organization and functions of the officials begins with the succession of King Joel in 1908. When Joel came into power Joni Igins (Johnny Higgins) was elected number two King. In contrast to Joel who was a weak King, Joni Igins was a man of strong character. It was not long before he had usurped most of the powers of the King and had become the actual political leader of the people. This situation was reinforced by the Japanese. They approved of a strong second chief who would actually control the government so that the King could become a symbol of authority removed from the people. Joni Igins was given the Japanese title "Chongobong." He ran all the public meetings and saw that the wishes of the King were carried out.

This was probably the most stable period in the political history of Mokil, and the only period in which the second chief played the role of "talking chief." From all appearances Joni Igins had more power than any King on Mokil ever had. He is still spoken of with awe as a great and respected person, a man against whom no one would dare speak or act. Moreover, he was popular with the people. The Japanese administration had little dealings with King Joel but worked directly with Joni Igins. The people were aware that he was not only a forceful person in his own right but that he also had the backing of the Japanese, who had them thoroughly cowed. When the police master came to Mokil all the men bowed their heads and listened in complete subjection to what he had to say. Important as the Japanese were in bolstering up Joni Igins' control over the political situation it is quite clear that his success as real ruler of Mokil was due to his own strength.

Joni Igins died in 1933 while Joel was still King. Following his death the governor of Ponape and a Japanese missionary named Tanaka came to Mokil to help in the election of a new Chongobong. Everyone in the village including women[1] and children attended the meeting. It is said that it was one of the biggest meetings in the history of Mokil. When the people were asked who they wanted for Chongobong the overwhelming vote was for Joni Igins' son George who was properly elected. He says now that this was done against his own wishes as he was certain that the job would be a difficult one.

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[1] It is said that throughout the Japanese period women attended public meeting. However, they had nothing to do with "making business." They merely sat around, sometimes listening to the debate but mostly gossiping among themselves. It was not until after the war started that it was decided that the women should be excluded from public meeting because their contribution was negligible and their presence was distracting.

Shortly after George Higgins' election the political situation became unstable in that the people began to question the ability of both Joel and George to run the government. George Higgins says that they threatened more than once at public meetings to throw Joel and himself into the "calaboose." In 1940 King Joel went for a visit to Ponape where he died four months later. In the interim, up until the time when a new King was elected, George Higgins was acting ruler of the island. He says that it was an unpleasant and difficult period for him.

At Joel's death, Jaulik, who at that time was on Ponape working for the Japanese as interpreter while in training to become native practitioner, led a movement there to have August elected King. A few of the Mokil men then working on Ponape rallied around Jaulik's campaign. Through these efforts the Japanese got the impression that August was the popular as well as the logical choice for the office.

The people in Mokil were unaware of this turn of events. As a result, when the Japanese police master of Ponape arrived on Mokil with August and told them that he had brought August as candidate for King it came as a complete surprise. The way the situation was handled in public meeting left the people little choice but to agree with the Japanese that August should be King. It is likely that August had support from some of the people. But it is also probable that they felt they had better accede to the Japanese' apparent preference for August as King.

At the public meeting, August was elected King. But after the Japanese had left Mokil the people began to fight among themselves about the election. Some wanted George Higgins to be King, but he protested and gave his active support to August. August weathered these storms, and as time passed the political situation became stabilized.

From the latter part of 1941 to 1943, George Higgins served as Shongobong to King August. In this capacity he presided at all public meetings and conducted most of the business of the island.

Unlike his father Joel, August is not a weak King. He is a man of strong character and definite opinions. George Higgins has said of him that he is an active ruler and not a mere figurehead. Before each public meeting August would meet with his Shongobong George to discuss matters of public interest that should be brought up. George Higgins as Shongobong was required to see that the wishes of the King were presented to the people and that his orders regarding public work were fulfilled.

In 1943 some fifty men were forced to go to Ponape to work for the Japanese. As a temporary measure it was decided that George Higgins should accompany them to maintain order and look after their welfare. Shortly after he arrived on Ponape the Japanese found it necessary to discontinue shipping service to Mokil. With no alternative but to remain on Ponape George Higgins eventually built a fine house on land he had acquired there and settled down with his wife and adopted children as a permanent resident of the community. When the Americans appeared on the scene he was hired as interpreter and liaison man by the Civil Administration. According to the standards of Ponape and Mokil he was paid a high salary--$75.00 a month. In addition to the security of his economic position, George Higgins has strong kinship ties with Oliper Nanipei, one of the richest men on Ponape. He was married to Oliper's sister and, to strengthen the ties between himself and this important family, adopted Oliper's son. It is common knowledge on Mokil that George Higgins has no intention of ever returning to his home island to live. In spite of this fact he continues to occupy the position of Shongobong and to maintain control of one of the largest land holdings on Mokil.

Because of this situation King August had to assume the whole responsibility of administrating the government of Mokil. This responsibility has proved to be a heavy burden for one man, and it is only with great difficulty that August is able to keep his control over the community. August once believed that his job would be easier if he had a number of minor chiefs such as have been developed on Ponape to whom he could delegate some authority. As it now stands the King alone is the target for all the resentment that an individual or group may feel toward laws imposed by the Civil Administration or local regulations enacted in public meeting. Appointment of minor chiefs as a solution to the problem was considered and rejected by August and several others because of the jealousies that would undoubtedly result.

Impressed by the Councils that had been formed as part of the government of Ponape, August decided to appoint a group of ten men from among the important men of Mokil to act as part of the administration. The first Ten Man Council was appointed in 1947 and served for a term of six months. Appointments were not made by the King independently. The matter was discussed openly in public meeting and on the basis of volunteers and recommendations ten of the most qualified men were chosen. The Ten Man Council was first conceived of as a body representing the people which would serve in an advisory capacity to the King in determining policy and would also take an active part in seeing that the policy was carried out. Although the idea of the Ten Man Council was suggested by the King it was well received by the

people since it was felt that the group would not only advise the King but would act as an instrument of control over his authority. It is within the Mokilese tradition for the King to abuse his powers, and the people being fully aware of this are always suspicious of his motives.

The first two Councils--those that served in 1947 for six months each--were for the most part composed of elders of the village. As such they exerted a real influence over decisions of the King and debate in public meetings. It soon became apparent however that there was a great deal of actual work attached to membership in the Ten Man Council. Whenever a public dignitary arrived on the island or some special job had to be done for the district the Ten Man Council was called upon to do the work. Many of the elders forming it were on the retired list and found such work too strenuous. Consequently it was not long before most of the older men decided that this means of gaining influence and prestige involved too much effort.

The Ten Man Council that was formed at the beginning of 1948 was made up of younger men with little political weight. Many of them were not yet heads of pahneyneys. The Ten Man Council continued to meet with the King on days preceding public meetings to discuss matters that should be brought up at the meetings. But by this time the conferences had become merely a matter of form and were not taken seriously by either the King or the people. By May, 1948 the Ten Man Council resembled a work party more than it did a political body.

In spite of these problems King August is an able executive. He conducts the meetings with dignity and is responsive to public opinion. When he finds that suggested measures are unpopular he modifies them in accordance with the expressed wishes of the people. Actually there is a surprising amount of democratic action in public meetings.

August is ambitious for Mokil and takes a pride in the island which is shared by most of the people. Able as he is, August is rapidly becoming unpopular (outside of his own small group). This is the result of an egregious lack of good political judgment on August's part which he refuses to admit. August's closest friend and affinal relative is Jouab, the richest man on the island. Some are of the opinion that Jouab and August are the same as brothers. There is no doubt that August is making every effort to push Jouab politically.

A year after the end of the war in the spring of 1946, nine men including August and Jouab made a trip to Ponape in a whale boat. The Mokilese were desperate for clothes. They had had no cigarettes for years and their supply of sails and tools was sadly depleted.

When they arrived in Ponape August talked to Leo Etscheit who was the interpreter for the Americans. August told him that the people wanted Jouab to be the Shongobong instead of George Higgins. Leo Etscheit explained the plan of the Civil Administration to have two secretaries[1] and two policemen[2] for each district.

When the men returned to Mokil August tried to push Jouab's appointment to Shongobong single handed, but the people refused to permit Jouab to replace George Higgins. Absent or present, George Higgins had too much support on Mokil to be thrown out of office. After a great deal of effort on August's part, however, Jouab was made first secretary.

Although Jouab is only a secretary it is obvious that he plays a large part in running the island. August appears to be building him into the role of number two chief in function if not in name. Most of the antagonism directed against August is not so much due to his activities as king as to the relationship that he maintains with Jouab. The people do not want Jouab and August running the island in partnership. Disapproval has reached a critical point, and opinion is rapidly being organized. The people seem determined either to break Jouab or if that is impossible with August in office to throw both of them out.

The antagonism against the alliance of August and Jouab was for many months diffuse and under cover. Smoldering in the minds of the people, it found its only outlet in private condemnations aired in small groups. Individuals criticized August for the occasional heavy fines he imposed on them for minor offenses and for the favoritism that he showed at the same time in letting off more serious offenders when they happened to be close relatives. There were also those who had land to which August had laid claim and taken by virtue of his power as the King. These were private affairs, however, and not of sufficiently widespread concern to set off the spark that would unify opposition. But when, as a result of this alliance between August and Jouab, a situation arose that was of consequence to the people as a whole the opposition crystallized. At a series of public meetings and in regard to true relations with the Americans the opposition showed itself to be a real threat.

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[1] Up to that time all district accounts were kept and secretarial work done by the Shongobong. The two secretaries were to alternate between Mokil and Ponape to take care of the business of the Mokilese in each place.

[2] The policemen were to go through a training period at a police school set up by the Civil Administration on Ponape. Both of them were to be stationed on Mokil. These four offices were to be filled by elections held at the public meetings.

Over a period of months August was subjected to open criticism that eventually resulted in accusations of the most damaging nature. The original controversy had to do with the mismanagement of the local store.

As far as most of the people are concerned, trade is the most important aspect of their contact with the outside. They are eager for education, grateful for medical attention and willing to tolerate the help of the Civil Administration in running the local government. But their main interest lies in the price they receive for their copra and handicraft and the amount and quality of the goods they are able to buy. If the store should lose money each family on the island would suffer, because the store is a community enterprise in which everyone has a stake. When the Island Trading Company replaced the USCC in September, 1947, the people were told that the store would have to be reorganized and that henceforth all business would be conducted on a cash basis. The people were required to capitalize the store by subscription. With the greatest difficulty they succeeded in raising the large sum of $1505.00. The sacrifice brought home to them the heavy responsibility involved in conducting a business, and the consequences in terms of loss that would result from poor management.

When an inventory had been taken and an accounting had been completed, it was found that all of the profits since the store had first been established had been lost. Apshaik of paneyney twenty-six, who had been the storekeeper during this period, said that the profits of ten per cent on all sales belonged to the USCC. When the truth of this statement was questioned Apshaik countered by saying the problem was purely academic since the money was gone. At the time, the people were somewhat disturbed, but it was pointed out to them that many of the elders of the village, including the Ten Man Council, had participated in running the store, consequently the responsibility for this loss could not be placed on one man. For several months the case was allowed to rest but the people did not forget.

In the public meeting held on December 29, 1947, August reopened the issue. He told Apshaik that since he was the storekeeper during the time that the money was lost he alone was responsible. Apshaik defended himself by stating that in the spring of 1947, an agent for USCC asked Apshaik to lend him the money belonging to the store because he did not have enough to buy the handicraft and copra. Apshaik said that he gave the agent the $700 that was at hand on the assumption that he would be credited with this sum in the agent's books. This statement of Apshaik's is the only record of such a transaction. It was obvious that many of the people were not convinced that Apshaik was telling the truth. Nevertheless, the case was not pressed further on that occasion.

It was not until March 15, 1948, that the case was again brought up by August in public meeting. This time August was much more insistent. He told Apshaik that if he did not find the $700 he and Jouab would start an investigation. Just how this investigation was to be conducted, no one had any idea. Apshaik repeated the same story about giving the money to the agent. August, however, reminded Apshaik that he had come to him a short time after the transaction was supposed to have taken place and had asked August what he should do with all the profits. Whether this meant the $700 in question no one seems to know, but it does appear that Apshaik had had a considerable amount of money above what the store owed for goods. After this blow, Apshaik withdrew his defense and agreed to make a search for the money.

For the following month Apshaik's trouble was the most exciting piece of gossip on the island. Are, Etijon, Tepit, and Pensimen among others were sympathetic with Apshaik. Most of the men, however, felt that Apshaik should be forced to pay the $700 although there was no evidence that he had lost or stolen the money. They felt that since Apshaik was in charge at the time he should be made to produce the money or be prosecuted. I was told by August that Jomej, whose son Jonoton was storekeeper during this controversy, and some of the elders were forcing August as chief executive into pressing the claim against Apshaik. Before this, the relationship between Apshaik and August had been close and friendly. It was August who had appointed Apshaik to the desirable position of storekeeper. It was rumored, however, that August was determined to put Apshaik in the "calaboose" if he did not find the money. Pensimen asked Apshaik if he were not worried, to which Apshaik replied that August and Jouab would not dare to put him in the "calaboose" because he had too much on them. This news spread rapidly through the island. Everyone wanted to know what Apshaik's information was, but got no satisfaction from him.

In the public meeting that was held on April 15, August again brought up the charge against Apshaik. Apshaik countered by accusing August and Jouab of mishandling a shipment of copra late in 1946. The copra in question had been shipped by pompom to pay for goods left on Mokil. The people never received full value for the shipment, and Apshaik pointed out that since August and Jouab had handled the deal they should be held responsible. Jouab got up in meeting and explained that 600 pounds of the copra had been rejected by the USCC because it had been damaged by salt water.

Noel of pancyney thirty-two rose and said that he had been told eight months before by Dallas, a visiting

interpreter, that Jouab had been paid in full for all the copra in the shipment.[1] Immediately the interest shifted from the accusations against Apshaik to those aimed at August and Jouab. In the course of the discussion it was said that in the latter part of 1947 Apshaik had tried to act in collusion with August, Jouab, Etijon and Belep in an attempt to take over the store and split the profits. Each of the men had agreed to invest $100 apiece to capitalize the store with the understanding that they would divide the profits evenly. However, the first time that Apshaik had approached August with the profits in order to divide them August decided that the plan was too risky and that it would be better not to go through with it.

Are of paneyney sixteen, one of the most outspoken and vitriolic men in the opposition, told August that he was a poor King if he cheated the people in this way and at the same time assumed the right to fine them for minor offenses. For the next few days, the case against Apshaik was completely overshadowed by the condemnations heaped upon August and Jouab. For a time it looked as though an active movement was getting under way to throw August and Jouab out of office. Since there was no one on the island capable of leading the movement, however, it never got beyond the talking stage.

This series of events was most notable in that August was openly criticized. Normally August is treated with great respect, in social as well as political affairs. At kamatips he occupies a central position. He is not only the first to be served but is waited upon with all the deference fitting to his high position. In public meetings August officiates with dignity and self-confidence. He discusses public issues at great length and outlines the arguments for and against a particular suggestion, and then calls for a discussion. Legislation is seldom enacted without the expressed approval of the majority of the more important men.

There is no doubt that August is an able executive and that if it were not for his relationship with Jouab he would be a popular King. August is well aware that public opinion is a powerful force, and that this force is difficult to control because of its diffuse nature. A single person can start an attack on a policy he dislikes and through clever and often unjust allegations can provoke the people into active resistance.

On April 8, August recommended in public meeting that the method of doing district work be modified. As has been mentioned before every able-bodied man is required to put in two days' work per month for the

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[1] Dallas' statement is verified by the USCC records.

district or pay a fine of fifty cents a day. August pointed out that it is difficult to find enough work to keep everyone busy, and that on some district work days the majority of the men do no work at all. As a solution he suggested that the men be divided into four groups according to the location of their houses starting at the north end of Karlap, and that only one of these groups work on a given day. This would mean that there would be eight days a month allocated to district work, but each man would work only two days as usual. The resolution was put on the floor and several of the elders spoke in support of it. None of the younger men spoke up. It seemed to me at the time that the decision was pushed through by a few of the more articulate and that the majority kept silent. As far as August was concerned the new regulation was in force.

On April 5, the next district work day, most of the men on the island appeared for work instead of the small group decided on at the meeting. August had already gone to Urak to work for himself having duly paid the fine of fifty cents to the treasury. Consequently, he knew nothing of what was happening until evening. Weleri of paneyney two, one of the policemen, said that a couple of the men had "spoiled the district work," and that there was nothing that anyone could do about it since it would be impossible to force three-fourths of the men present to return to their homes.

There are two versions as to what had happened. The most popular laid the blame on Jouab. It is said that the night before district work day, Jouab had talked "big" in the presence of Jemej and several other men. He had denounced the people of Mokil as being too ignorant to do business and said that he and August were the only ones who were capable of deciding what was good for them. He said that Mokil men only "savvied" sex. Everyone in his hearing resented his overbearing attitude, especially Jemej of paneyney twenty-nine; and since it was known that Jouab was behind the new arrangement for doing district work, Jemej decided to disrupt the plans and prove to Jouab that he and August could not push Mokil people around. That night Jemej got on his bicycle and spread the word throughout the village.

On the morning of the fifth fuel was added to the flame when Jouab reopened his high-handed talk of the previous evening and his wife Jepe spoke up in support of him. The men became thoroughly indignant at this. They said that a woman had no right to voice an opinion on the subject of "making business."

August's version of how the trouble started differs from this. He says that there has been bad blood between

Jemej and Jouab for several years. On this issue, Jemej had taken the position that Jouab was trying to force the people to do his bidding against their will, and told Jouab that he was going to see to it that the resolution was not carried out. This statement provoked Jouab into accusing Jemej and most of the other men of being incompetents and troublemakers. At this point Jope joined in and told Jemej that she was going to break up the marriage between her daughter and Jemej' son Jonoton and make her daughter come home. It was at this point that Jemej jumped on his bicycle and made the rounds of the village to tell everyone not to abide by the resolution. Veleri had repeated this to August with the suggestion that Jemej be thrown into the "calaboose," but August demurred. When I interviewed August, however, he brought out the criminal code and pointed out to me that attempts to break down agreements made in public meeting outside and after the meeting were punishable by a fine of from five to fifty dollars. It is my opinion that August had too much political acumen to take a chance on making a martyr out of Jemej.

August bided his time until the next public meeting. He brought up the matter of district work pointing out that the people had not carried out the agreement made. He told them that since they would not abide by legislation passed in public meeting and would not follow his leadership that he was going to resign the following Wednesday and that they should start looking for a new King. At this, some took the realistic position that he could not abdicate until the civil authorities arrived on the next ship. Others tried to placate him. Whatever the attitude, it is certain that there was no one on the island that the people had enough confidence in to put in August's place. Evidently, August was only threatening abdication as he has admitted to me that he has no intention of giving up his position.[1]

As the discussion at the public meeting regarding district work progressed August finally managed to get the people to agree on the division of the men into four groups for district work, but this was the only compromise the people would make with the new plan. They still insisted that there should be only two district work days, that each of the four groups work as units under the supervision of men appointed by the King and approved by the people. In spite of this concession the consensus was that August and Jouab had been put in their place and that they, the people, had proved satisfactorily that they were the ones who ran the island.

It must not be assumed because of the hostility and suspicion directed toward Jouab that he is treated as an outcast. Jouab is a "big man," and for that reason,

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[1] I have been told that August has threatened to resign on five other occasions, with the result that some people no longer take it seriously.

in the cultural pattern of Mokil, he cannot be ignored. He is not only the wealthiest man in the village but is high in the church and is competent in the ways admired by the Mokilese. Most of the men play up to him. They seem to feel that they cannot afford to make an enemy of one so powerful. It is only in the heat of argument and with the support of numbers that accusations are made to his face.

There are no political factions on Mokil in the sense of groups organized to accomplish political ends. The King is supported or not by most men on the merits of an issue. Others, who have a reputation for being more interested in looking out for themselves, will oppose any policy that requires a sacrifice from themselves, even though that policy may benefit the community as a whole. Many people also tend to go along with close relatives or with "big men" who command respect in the community because of their economic position. At most of the public meetings, a few of the heads of the wealthiest pancyneys such as Alen, Oliten, Jemej and Jojten dominate the discussions. The poorer as well as the younger men sit back and listen. It was only when the discussions got out of hand in the attacks made against August and Jouab that such young men as Noel, aged thirty-three, Tepit, aged thirty-one, and Pensimen, aged thirty-one, spoke up. Of these Tepit as the son of Oliten and Pensimen as the son of Jojten could feel fairly secure because of the importance of their fathers. Noel of pancyney thirty-two is the son of a poor man but he has one of the strongest personalities and is one of the most competent of the young men.

At the time when indignation against August and Jouab was running high as many as five or six men would gather to have "indignation" meetings. To the observer it appeared that they were determined to take action at least against Jouab. In a few days their purpose was invariably dissipated in other interests. It became apparent that there was no single man on the island that could assume the leadership necessary to hold these groups together in accomplishing their ends.

When August offered to resign, the people were in one respect nonplussed. The only man who could conceivably take his place at the present time is George Higgins, and he has no intention of returning to Mokil. Even <u>in absentia</u> George Higgins comes closest to being a leader around whom the opposition can rally. The situation on Mokil is frequently discussed with him by Mokilese visiting or working on Ponape. In Mokil his name is frequently brought up in private discussions that are devoted to decrying abuses by August and Jouab.

George Higgins is of the opinion that in addition to Jonab only Lepen and Ernij will support August on all issues. Even Alen whose paneyney is one of those most closely related to August's has openly criticized his collaboration with Jonab. Alen has even gone so far as to say that August is now a "different kind of man" because of Jonab's influence. It was shown in the sociogram that in inter-paneyney cooperation, Alen, Oliten, Lepen and Jonab formed a pattern of strong reciprocal bonds. If it were not for the fact that Jonab is so intensely resented this group of paneyneys would undoubtedly consolidate their political interests in a solid front that would be difficult to oppose. As it now stands the position of August as well as that of Jonab is extremely unstable and could easily be upset if a leader should rise who would organize public opinion into action.

Notes on Our Spelling of Mokil Names and Terms[1]

We devised a simple symbol system to represent phonemes, one that could be used on both our typewriters. The symbols used for our approximations to Mokil phonemes are listed and, where necessary, briefly discussed below:

Vowels				Diphthongs	
a	as in "father."	i	as in "hit"	ay	as the pronoun "I"
e	European close e.	o	as in "raw"	au	as in "loud"
i	European close i.	*	as in "up"	eu	glide from e to u
o	as in "rote"	u	as in "put"	oy	as in "boy"
u	as in "root"			ou	as in "boat"
a	as in "ant"			ya	as in "yacht"
e	as in "met"			wa	as in "wobble"

An unstressed and very short vowel between consonants constantly confused us. At various times in the same or different words it might sound like i, *, e or u. I cannot say whether it is phonemically one sound or several.

The mute e (*) occurs in stressed position as well as in our familiar unstressed position.

Consonants

b, p and f are a single phoneme probably mid way between b and p. f may have been assimilated to these since contact with English (Frank is pronounced b a r ay k).
d, t and v are likewise a single phoneme probably mid-way between d and t. v, like f, may be an assimilation from English.
g and k seem to be one phoneme.
h sounds like our aspirant.
I am uncertain as to whether or not ʒ is a separate ʃ phoneme from .
k is probably one phoneme with g.
l is present, probably also a retroflex l.
m is present.
n is present.
ng as in sing; occasionally used intially.
p is probably one phoneme with b.
r is present, also an r consisting of a single voiced flick followed by an unvoiced trill which we represent by the symbol rr.
s is present.
sh stands for ʃ . There may also be a retroflex s which sounds like s sometimes and at other times like ʃ .
t is present, probably also a retroflex t.
w is present as a separate consonant and also as a glide between the bilabial consonants m and p (b) and a following vowel.
' is the glotal stop, used only terminally, I believe.

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[1] Prepared by Dr. Joseph Weckler.

Accent in three or four syllable names is usually, but not always, on the antepenultimate syllable. Two syllable words usually have the stress on the first syllable.

GLOSSARY

apil	small fish used primarily for bait
apit	curved pole extending from hull to float of outrigger
arong	crevally type fish, frequents the reef and lagoon, weighs from two to six pounds
ashipi*n	variety of pandanus
atol	green coconut with edible husk
at*m	crevally type fish, frequents reef and lagoon, slightly larger than arong
cus	juice of the bud of coconut tree, used to make molasses, also used as yeast
Fayn*	reef extending between Manton and Urak
iit	tree important for blossoms used in making perfumes and for decorations, wood used for canoe house posts
ikonit	small bait fish
irrir	prepared food, main ingredient is grated taro
isho	type of breadfruit valuable for timber
kamatip	ceremonial feast
kao	curved pole on crescent shaped net
Katago*	highest order for women in church and Christian Endeavor
kepwini	crevally type fish found along outside edge of reef, most highly valued food fish
kibuk	wood used in whale boat construction
kis	octopus
Kornenkushap	vice president of Christian Endeavor
Kornenwi	president of Christian Endeavor
k*shakish	gift
Kosh*p	sub-district, membership based on location of residence and kinship--there were eight
Lepenkatum	office of secondary chief during aborigfnal period preceding typhoon circa 1770
Lokopash	number three Kosh*p
Lamesh	number five Kosh*p
mar	pit breadfruit
maypa	varieties of breadfruit the fruit of which contains large seed
maysh*porik	varieties of breadfruit the fruit of which does not contain large seed
mes	leaves used for mulch in taro patch
mok*r*k	grass used for mulch in taro patch
Momotso	church
mweng	cyrtosperma chamissonis (taro)
m*kim*k	arrowroot
m*kit*	hurry!
Nanau	aboriginal title of King
Nanmarki	Ponapean title of King adopted in Mokil
nitoy	small fish that changes color as a means of camouflage
n*s	exchange of goods

GLOSSARY (continued)

Orn*p	a Pledge in Christian Endeavor
pako	shark
paneyney	extended family, in common usage refers to basic economic and social unit
Patak	aboriginal district of Mokil, included Urak and southern section of Karlap
Payti	aboriginal district of Mokil, included Manton and northern section of Karlap
pen	green coconut suitable for drinking
puko	type of basket made from coconut fronds
pwel	cord made from fiber of husk of green coconut
Pwin	sub-district, membership based on location of residence, five in number
Pwinmelon	member in Christian Endeavor
pwish	spring bow on outrigger made from coconut wood
p*ki	to ask for a commodity
ram*k	tree used in native medicine, also used for timber
rot*ma	prepared food similar to irrir, main ingredient grated taro
sawa	colocasia esulenta (taro)
sawash	volunteer labor
Sawash	order of retired presidents of Christian Endeavor
seri*	variety of taro
shalingwalik	variety of taro
Shapun*pa	New Year's celebration including ceremonial feast
shap*s	small bait fish
shimitin	variety of taro
shongobong	title of number two chief
sh*koki	variety of taro
sonbongwenu	variety of taro
Songo*	highest order of men in church and Christian Endeavor
tutunek	fishing competition and breadfruit festival
um	stone oven, food is cooked in coral gravel that has been heated and covered with leaves
unmang	variety of pandanus that supplies finest fiber for handicraft
unpesh	variety of pandanus
urun*	lobster
wanpwish	two vertical sticks extending from spring bow to float
wi	wood used in whale boat construction
witer	small fish resembling common bullhead, caught primarily by women on reef
wut	dry land taro

APPENDIX A

Copy of the License Required by Native Practitioners

U. S. MILITARY GOVERNMENT UNIT
TRUK AND THE CENTRAL CAROLINES
PONAPE DETACHMENT - HOSPITAL

15, May 1946

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

1. SIESE
2. JABIT All of Mokil and residents of Sokas
3. LUELEN

1. Agreed that they will treat only those patients suffering from painful joints or painful muscles. They will not treat inflammation or fractures but will refer such cases to the hospital.

2. They will employ no narcotics in the relief of pain of their patients. Patients in such pain must be referred to the proper authorities.

3. In short, medicants used shall be only heat and cold and the skill of massage.

4. Fees for such services will be standardized along with those of the other native practitioners.

(a) Five cents for one visit or series of treatments (1 week).
(b) Ten cents for a treatment lasting two weeks or requiring constant care for 12 hours.
(c) Twenty or thirty cents may be charged for a full day's work or the equivalent in man hours (24 hours services).

5. It is agreed and understood that an infraction of the above principles will be considered by the medical function of this base as sufficient reason to revoke all priviledges given in license.

(signed)
J. P. Semmens
Lt (jg) MC. USNR
Senior Medical Officer

Agreed:
Siese
Jabit
Luelen

Witnessed by:
Celestine (signed)
Christina

APPENDIX A (continued)

Native Cures

1. Headache: Origin of treatment--Marshall Islands. Take three buds, three leaves and six berries of the wenbul tree. Mash these together and squeeze through a piece of cloth into about one inch of salt water in a cup. The medicine is applied by pouring part into each ear, then pouring the remainder into the hair. The treatment is given three times a day. For each application a new dose must be prepared.

2. Earache: Origin--Marshall Islands. Take three pieces of the stalk of the vine called "kam*kam," usually found growing around a coconut tree. The pieces must be about one inch long. They are mashed up and squeezed through a cloth into about one inch of fresh water in a cup. Three applications are poured into the ear in one day. If both ears ache, the medicine is applied to each ear alternately. This medicine is said to work fast causing the pain to disappear almost immediately. Although kam*kam relieves the pain, the application is often followed by a discharge. When this occurs, a medicine made from wenbul is applied. This consists of three very young leaves, three larger leaves and six very small buds. Add three root sprouts of the coconut tree after scraping away the outside of the sprouts. All of these ingredients are mashed together and squeezed into about six ounces of coconut oil. This remedy, called wininmatsh, is applied to the ear three times daily. As in the case of most infections a man with an earache should only bathe in fresh water.

3. Stiff neck: Origin--Mokil. Massage the back of the neck with coconut oil.

4. Sore throat: Origin--Mokil. Massage throat with coconut oil. Any form of sore throat is attributed to a stone that slips down and must be rubbed back up into place. During my stay on Mokil, I had a severe case of tonsillitis that made it impossible for me to eat solid food for several days. I was urged by the older men and even by Jaulik to go to Emalain, the sore throat specialist, in order to have the stone that had slipped down my throat rubbed into place. As my throat grew worse, the social pressure to call in Emalain became more difficult to ignore. Fortunately, I was able to convince Jaulik that my condition might warrant the use of penicillin. After two injections, my recovery was almost immediate, however, many of the people felt that Emalain could have accomplished the same thing.

5. "Fever with coughing": Origin--Mortlocks. This ailment is supposed to be common on Ponape, but occurs only occasionally on Mokil. The secret of the cure is known only to Ruth, an unmarried girl of sixteen. Ruth learned about the cure from her cousin, Merilusia, who had been taught its secret by a Mortlock man who now lives in the Mortlock village in Sokas and has adopted Merilusia. The sickness is called kar*kar. The only information that Ruth was willing to give was that the medicine is made from several plants all of which can be found on Mokil. The juice from these plants is given internally, morning, noon and night. It induces perspiration when the patient is wrapped in blankets. Ruth cured two children in 1947. One was the child of Net, and the other of Belep. Neither of these men are closely related to Ruth, and although they are well-to-do citizens in the eyes of the Mokilese, they have never paid her for her services. Ruth has now given up hope of their ever doing so. It would be considered bad taste to ask for payment.

6. Cuts: Origin--Marshall Islands. All cuts are treated as soon as possible with the juice of the stalk of a young banana tree which is poured over the open wound. This is common knowledge on Mokil.

7. Stomach ailments: Origin--Gilbert and Marshall Islands. Massage with perfumed coconut oil. Although many people profess to be expert at this type of treatment only a few are recognized as having sufficient skill to be effective. The technique in most cases is similar to that described in the case of Tomaj and Wilienter.

8. Dysentery: Origin--Marshall Islands. Take one stalk of the plant katikat and cut it into pieces one inch long and one quarter inch in diameter. Add six sprouts of the coconut tree found at the base of a mature trunk and cut each sprout to the length of one inch. Mash the ingredients together and place in a piece of coconut cloth. Work the juice of the mash into one inch of water in the bottom of a cup. The medicine is taken internally. Fresh ingredients must be used for each treatment. This concoction is known to only one man, Are. Are says that he is very careful to bury the ingredients or throw them into the ocean so that no one will learn the secret.

APPENDIX A (continued)

9. Yaws: Origin--Gilbert Islands. There are two cures for this. The first cure: Take several young leaves of ram*k, add the fruit of iit and mash together. Place in coconut cloth and squeeze into one inch of fresh water in the bottom of a cup. Place on the sores and cover up with the cotton that grows at the base of new leaves on the ram*k tree. Bandage it on. This treatment has a tendency to dry up the sores. The second cure: Use the same treatment (wininmatsh) that is used for earache. Avoid salt water.

10. Boils: Origin--Mokil. Crush the leaves of the tree mes, and place on the infected area. It has a drawing effect that will bring the boil to a head.

11. Child delivery: Origin--Mokil. All of the women on Mokil are said to have a working knowledge of child delivery. However, if the mother is in labor for more than three days a specialist is called in. There are two such specialists on Mokil both of whom are old women, Emalain and Elizabeth. The treatment is to massage the abdomen of the patient with oil with the purpose of working the baby into the proper position. Prolonged labor, according to the Mokilese, is always caused by the baby not being in the proper position. While the Mokilese claim to have medicines that will aid in childbirth, they have no knowledge of medicine that will induce abortion.

12. Post-natal care of the mother: Origin--Mokil. Occasionally the mother has trouble breathing after child birth. This ailment is called "pet*aeni." Two old women, Emalain and Jeal, can remedy the trouble by the use of massage with oil.

13. Female disorders: Origin--Marshall Islands. Occasionally something becomes displaced within the vagina and is said to be quite painful. This is called "shomweyenti." They say that Emalain is able by careful manipulation to move the organs into their proper place. She usually effects a cure in one treatment.

14. Gonorrhea (Mokilese name is "shibilish"): Origin of first cure--Gilbert Islands. Crush and squeeze the juice from the leaves of the small plant called kapulipul. Place in a coconut shell that has one

opening large enough to insert the penis. The penis is soaked in this medicine for about three hours. The mixture can be improved with the addition of a little urine. After three hours the medicine is renewed. It is said that a cure can be effected in one day.

Second cure: Origin--Marshall Islands. Take six young leaves and six dead leaves from the vine taut*l. Mash them and squeeze into fresh water--enough to make one quart. Taken internally, this quantity is usually sufficient for a cure.

15. Mental disorder: Origin of first cure--Marshall Islands. The name of the medicine is "wini en k*shong arong." Mash three buds of the wenbul. Take a few pieces of limweni[1] and mix with the mashed buds. Add ten drops of coconut oil and rub over the body of the patient. If this treatment is not effective use second cure.

Second cure: Origin--Marshall Islands. Take a six inch bud of the vine that is usually found on the r*mak tree. Mash it and squeeze the juice through a cloth into one inch of salt water in a cup. The water must come from hollows found on the seaward edge of the coral reef. The medicine must be made at four o'clock in the morning. The medicine is then daubed on the body in the following pattern: Rub across the forehead from right to left and from the back of the head over the top and down to the chin. Daub from one shoulder to the other in front and then down the center of the chest. The medicine is also daubed across the back from shoulder to shoulder and down the center of the back. If the sun comes up before the medicine is completely prepared it will not be effective.

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[1] Limweni is an accretion that forms on the outside of the trunk of the coconut tree. Evidently it is the result of rain water running down the trunk. In appearance it is similar to white wood ashes.

APPENDIX B

LIST OF PANLYNEYS IN MOKIL, 1947

ALPHABETICAL		NUMERICAL
Aijak Rupin	24	1. Oliper Piter
Airam (Merian) Joj	8	2. Kelen Piter
Alen Jonoton	7	3. Jek Rupin
Alipot Alikjenter	26	4. Lorin Rupin
Are Kiristoba	16	5. Aret Mosis
Aret Mosis	5	6. Etuet Jemej
August Joel	11	7. Alen Jonoton
Eliam Alikjenter	37	8. Airam (Merian) Joj
Etijon Boaj	21	9. Lemuel Malkai
Etikar Rupin	34	10. Kiristoba Kojtes
Etuet Jemej	6	11. August Joel
George Higgins	22	12. Tom Net
Jamuel Piter	18	13. Jojten Jepeti
Japit Jim	33	14. Lepen Anturu
Jaulik Lujioj	17	15. Net Benjamin
Jek Rupin	3	16. Are Kiristoba
Jemej Pol	29	17. Jaulik Lujioj
Jimion Lipai	39	18. Jamuel Piter
Joaj	41	19. Jorim Jepen
Jojeph Belep	40	20. Pernel Jop
Jojten Jepeti	13	21. Etijon Poaj
Jorim Jepen	19	22. George Higgins
Jouab Tanes	30	23. Kilinten Rupin
Kelen Piter	2	24. Aijak Rupin
Kilinten Rupin	23	25. Liui Tepit
Kiristoba Kojtes	10	26. Alipot Alikjenter
Lemuel Malkai	9	27. Opet Aijak
Lepen Anturu	14	28. Oliten Pol
Liui Tepit	25	29. Jemej Pol
Lorin Rupin	4	30. Jouab Tanes
Luelen Jim	32	31. Viliam Luta
Meliton Alikjenter	36	32. Luelen Jim
Net Benjamin	15	33. Japit Jim
Oliper Piter	1	34. Etikar Rupin
Oliten Pol	28	35. Tom Alikjenter
Opet Aijak	27	36. Meliton Alikjenter
Pernel Jop	20	37. Eliam Alikjenter
Titirik Piter	38	38. Titirik Piter
Tom Alikjenter	35	39. Jimion Lipai
Tom Net	12	40. Jojeph Belep
Viliam Luta	31	41. Joaj

APPENDIX C

RECIPES

Fresh Food Recipes

Taro:

1. Boil mweng.
2. Tipenmwen--cut in four pieces and bake in um.
3. Lus--mash tipenmwen. Boil coconut cream and molasses and pour over mashed tipenmwen.
4. Rot*m*-- a. Grate raw mweng and bake in um. Mix with coconut cream and molasses.
   b. Grate raw mweng and mix with raw grated bananas or cooked grated pandanus. Stir in coconut cream and molasses. Place in basket; cover with leaves and bake in um.
5. Kamalis--mash boiled or baked mweng into paste. Add grated coconut.
6. Anbaus piayia--cut mweng into pieces and boil in water. Throw away water and boil in coconut cream. Add molasses.
7. Shop*la--bake mweng in um. Bake maypa that has stood a day until soft. Mash together and add coconut cream.
8. Irrir--mix grated mweng with coconut milk and molasses and bake overnight in um. This can also be made by mixing m*kim*k (arrowroot), mweng, coconut milk and molasses and baking overnight in um.
9. Kur*shek--mix grated mweng, mashed bananas, grated coconut, coconut cream and molasses and bake in um for three hours. Bananas and grated coconut can be omitted.

Breadfruit:

1. Talenmay--place cut breadfruit in pan, cover with coconut cream and bake in um two hours.
2. Fried breadfruit--french fry in coconut oil.
3. Boil breadfruit.
4. Kabuk*buk--let maysh*porik stand one day to get soft. Peel and mix with coconut cream. Bake in um.
5. Polshish--core maypa and fill hole with coconut cream. Wrap in maypa leaf and bake in um.
6. Peel and sear over direct flame three to five minutes. Scrape off dirt.

APPENDIX C (continued)

Bananas:

1. Boil bananas.
2. Bake bananas.
3. Fried bananas--fry in coconut oil.
4. Pilulu--mix grated bananas and raw m*kim*k. Place in pan and pour coconut cream and molasses on it. Bake in um. Baked mweng or grated wut (dry land taro) can be substituted for the bananas.
5. Wuspil--mix grated bananas and green coconut water. Place in pan, pour on coconut cream and bake in um.
6. Shepuk--cut up bananas and boil thirty minutes in coconut cream.
7. Konshin--peel bananas and sear three to five minutes over direct flame. Scrape off dirt.

Pandanus:

1. Boiled pandanus--boil in water one hour.
2. Baked pandanus--wrap whole keys in leaf of banana, taro or breadfruit. Bake in um.
3. Mataylik--extract keys and bake with pieces of mweng. Scrape baked mweng with spoon and place in pan in spoonfuls. Cover with scraped pandanus and pour on coconut cream and molasses.
4. Peru--bake and scrape pandanus keys. Mix with raw m*kim*k, coconut cream and molasses. Bake in um.

Coconut:

1. Baked atol (variety of coconut)--bake green atol in um three to six hours.
2. Cos*n--grate or mash pidginmeri (flesh of green coconut) and mix with green coconut water and molasses.
3. Talok--grate parr (congealed milk of sprouting coconut), mix with coconut water and molasses.
4. Anbaus parr--wash parr and boil two hours in water. Mix in coconut cream and molasses.

Stored Foods

Mar (pit breadfruit)--peel, core and slice breadfruit. Place in net in lagoon and beat with stripped coconut fronds. Soak for two days. Place in hole three feet deep lined with breadfruit leaves. Cover with breadfruit leaves held in place with stones. Change leaves in three days, and again in another three days. Repeat after a week, then after two weeks, then after one month.

APPENDIX C (continued)

To prepare for eating, place mar in cotton bag and wash in water. To remove excess water mar is worked on a board. A batter is made by mixing with coconut cream.

Recipes using mar:

1. Talenmar--put mar in pan. Cover with coconut cream and molasses and bake in um for one hour.
2. P*lekbir--mix coconut cream and molasses with mar, wrap in banana leaf and bake in um for one hour.
3. Pwiro--mix pilenpen (green coconut water) with mar. Wrap in banana leaf and bake in um for one hour.
4. Rukal--mix mar, grated coconut and molasses. Wrap in banana leaf and bake in um for one hour.
5. Mesh*leran--mix mar, ripe breadfruit and coconut cream. Wrap in banana leaf and bake in um for one hour.
6. Marwus--mix mar, mashed ripe banana and coconut cream. Wrap in banana leaf and bake in um for one hour.
7. Markasik--do not wash mar in water first as in other dishes, but roll unwashed mar out into thin sheet. Place in pan and cover with coconut cream and molasses. Bake in um for two or more hours.

Kibar--cook mar dry in um. Scrape into powder. This powder keeps indefinitely.

Shengun--peel, core and cut maypa into four or five pieces. Place in coconut leaf basket. Cook in um for several hours. Remove and roll very thin. Place in sun to dry for several days. Roll in pandanus leaf and tie. Will keep for a year.

Shikak*--peel, core and cut maypa into pieces. Bake in um for several hours. Remove and break in pieces. This is placed in a basket and used for snacks. Keeps one month.

M*kim*k (arrowroot) flour--grate m*kim*k and place on cloth spread over bucket. Pour salt water over so that it drips in bucket. When bucket is full let stand for two hours until sediment settles on bottom. Carefully pour off water leaving sediment. Repeat several times. Remove sediment from bottom of bucket and place in cloth sack to drain and dry for six hours. This makes a fine flour which keeps well.

M*kim*k pancakes-- mix flour with coconut cream and fry in coconut oil in pan.

Shengun made with pandanus--bake whole keys in um. Remove and scrape keys. Roll flat and dry in sun for several days, turning every four or five hours. Roll up in pandanus leaf. Will keep for as long as five years.

Yus--slice bananas and dry in sun. Roll in pandanus leaves.

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MOKIL ATOLL

URAK COCONUT LAND

OWNERSHIP BY PANEYNEYS; MAY, 1948 AND CROP DISTRIBUTION

LEGEND

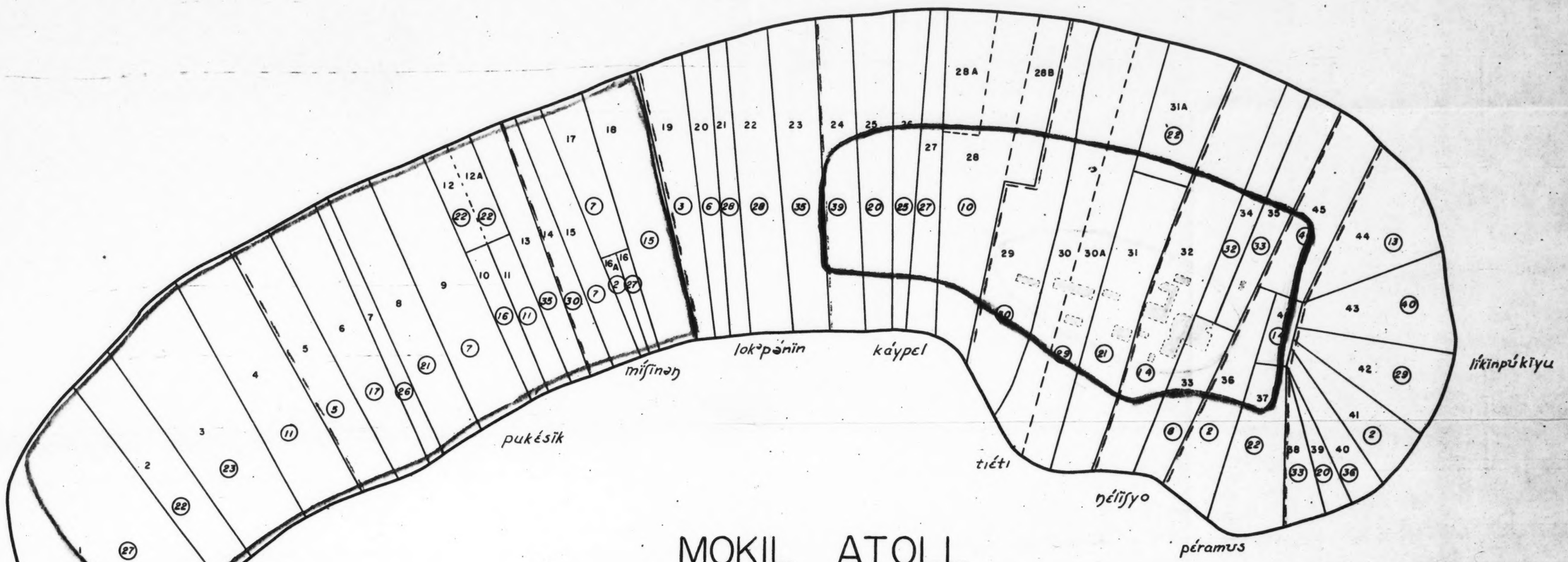
- PROPERTY LINES
- FORMER PROPERTY LINES
- DISTRICT BOUNDARIES
- 23 LOT NUMBERS
- (37) PANEYNEY NUMBERS
- TARO PATCH
- AREA BEST FOR COPRA
- AREA NO LONGER PRODUCES COPRA
- AREA BEST FOR BREADFRUIT
- AREA BEST FOR BANANAS

SCALE IN FEET

0 200 400 600

N

C. BENTZEN



MOKIL ATOLL

MANTON COCONUT LAND

OWNERSHIP BY PANEYNEYS; MAY, 1948 AND CROP DISTRIBUTION

LEGEND

- PROPERTY LINES
- FORMER PROPERTY LINES
- DISTRICT BOUNDARIES
- 23 LOT NUMBERS
- (37) PANEYNEY NUMBERS
- TARO PATCH
- AREA BEST FOR COPRA
- AREA NO LONGER PRODUCES COPRA
- AREA BEST FOR BANANAS

SCALE IN FEET

0 200 400 600

C. BENTZEN

MOKIL ATOLL

KARLAP COCONUT LAND

OWNERSHIP BY PAŊEYNEYS; MAY, 1948
AND
CROP DISTRIBUTION

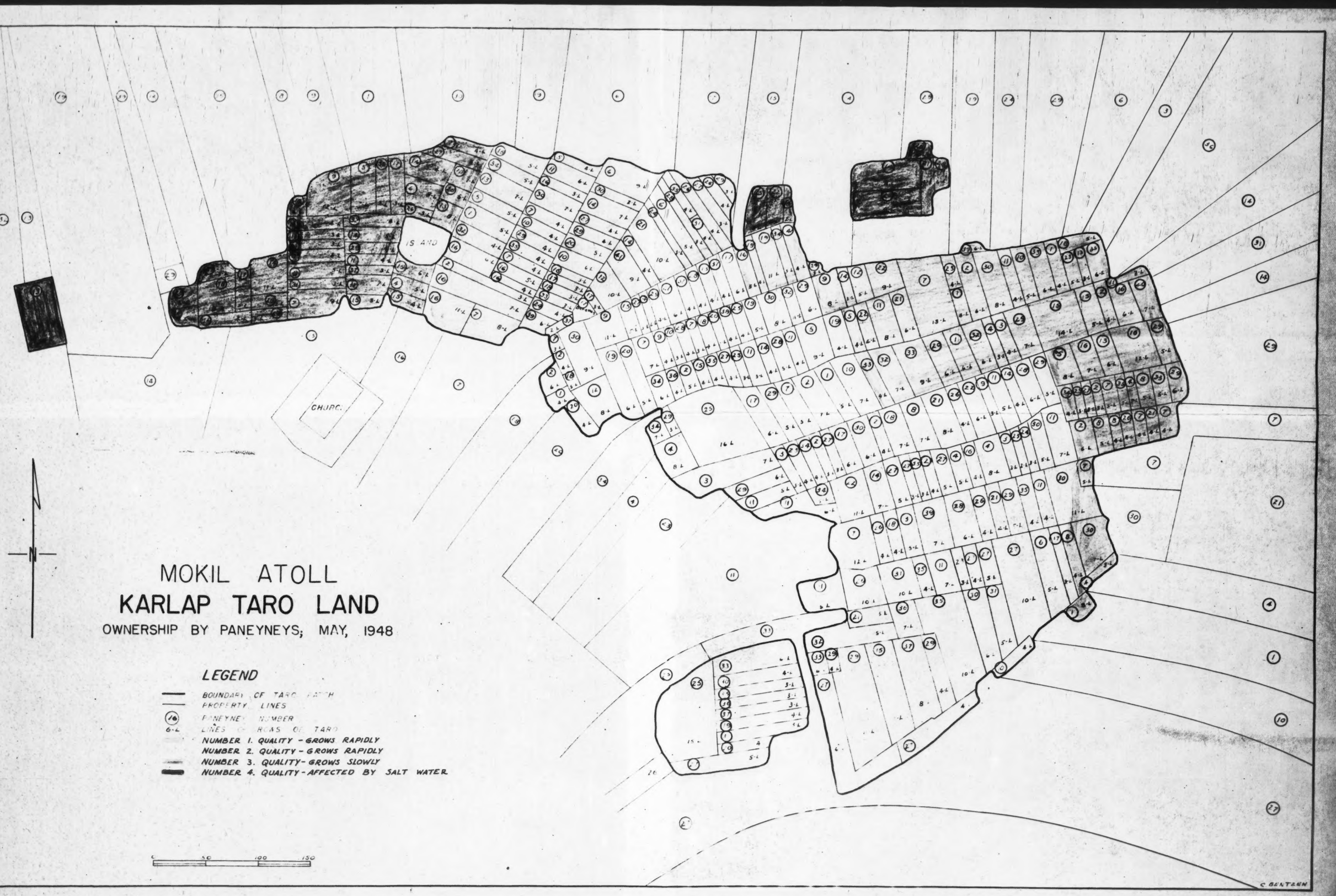
LEGEND

- PROPERTY LINES
- FORMER PROPERTY LINES
- DISTRICT BOUNDARIES
- 23 LOT NUMBERS
- (57) PAŊEYNEY NUMBERS
- TARO PATCH
- AREA BEST FOR COPRA
- AREA NO LONGER PRODUCES COPRA
- AREA BEST FOR BREADFRUIT
- AREA BEST FOR BANANAS

SCALE IN FEET
0 200 400 600

puk ánso
ʃapónanıʃ
kıkálya
lamej
kaʃipáya
álʊk
lapáŋ'paŋ
wánap
likınwáynə
pikén
tón"m"aʃ
anélok
líkınkáʃ
ïnʃápat
ïnsúbulaŋ
ʃap"ənmókıl
kapınm"éytə
kaʃáu`
ʃawáyk
miʃenwíu
miʃéŋ'ko"
lóʃap
ʃap"ánʃilél
wákat
ímwenbyúko'
path
inmətól
likınlóŋŋıkéŋ
likınʃáp"kap
íntıátıı
ʃáp"kap
likıkú
likınʃáp
miʃənpéyu
úmaŋb"élaŋ
ʃumurúʦ
kúpinkáŋ
púŋmatúto
lókopáʃ
páyti
umaŋb"élaŋ
omuŋófur
laŋárkau
lítu`
ʃakársik
kialek
m"úniko'
ʃakáʃiko
path

C. BENTZEN



MOKIL ATOLL
KARLAP TARO LAND
OWNERSHIP BY PANEYNEYS; MAY, 1948

LEGEND

- BOUNDARY OF TARO PATCH
- PROPERTY LINES
- (16) PANEYNEY NUMBER
- 6-L LINES OF ROWS OF TARO
- NUMBER 1. QUALITY - GROWS RAPIDLY
- NUMBER 2. QUALITY - GROWS RAPIDLY
- NUMBER 3. QUALITY - GROWS SLOWLY
- NUMBER 4. QUALITY - AFFECTED BY SALT WATER

0 50 100 150

C. BENTZEN